

HOOVER INSTITUTION ARCHIVES

Archival Media  
Archival Media

BORIS T. PASH

BOX NO. 2

ACCESSION NO. 72033-8.19

(P)



26-28

Boris Pash

a few miles  
le with the  
it would soon  
only surrender  
he pose of  
here, the peasant  
a drink of  
non-

ed.  
in the farm  
He was asked  
possible etc  
in Berlin.

there a few  
recover some  
ormation. His  
urg until the  
Luftwaffe in  
which was the  
b. and  
d been on  
but had

experimentally  
s also intere  
he Luftwaffe  
in science.

urse the  
or did they  
d his interest  
te but did

ght have  
would be  
riologist.

in 1942 he  
that had

per of cases  
epidemic  
e attributed  
n lived.

what we  
king in a  
the attention  
markable

ive conditions  
n the form  
modern  
palaces  
nd then

complete ruin  
k at one edge  
lasting 25

sed by

en the  
t had a  
this  
city

was quiet  
till then  
said to be  
G. and  
CW experts  
of the

Also

General

Mission

Diary (Germany), 1945 Mar-July

26-28

26-28



not used to live  
and to give Adam

Scott CWS had  
transport and

club. Mrosowsky  
later Brandt lived  
anthropologist.  
not should be of

and gave him some  
. Point out the  
rs and that its

Train at 8 a.m. next  
would be met at

he.  
and met Mumford and  
of I.G. recently  
rain running on a

and the RTO had no idea  
were announced for a  
s so we all got in and

that orders will be  
. Adam sees MO about t  
romartie and Henze and  
arrived at station last  
er CWS as we had Shaefer,  
get orders, otherwise he  
nd Cologne and find the  
nks seen at Schmidding  
ical works at Wiesbaden  
very urgently. No personnel  
ne other interesting item  
Wehrmacht in Berlin  
ion.

and get orders and give a  
is better.

and see Eckmann. He suggests  
y. Very welcome invitation.  
less learn that transport is

at 9.15. A very pleasant  
ley. Liege very dirty.  
also a flat tire.  
and provides excellent

Hq at 11.30. The journey  
Duren in which there does not  
lages badly damaged ;others  
th only a very occasional

pass and find route to Schmidding  
and see the public health officer.  
riologist he knows; and to make  
and see a Capt Burns.  
report nothing of interest. The  
of traffic movements and we

2-7  
Boris Pash

Also

General Mission

Diary (Germany), 1945 Mar-July



Prof Knorr was found living in a farm in a small village a few miles from Wurzburg. While waiting for his return talked a little with the farmer's wife who asked for war news and said she hoped it would soon be over. On being told that it would be if Hitler would only surrender she said 'Isn't that swine dead yet?' This is part of the pose of many of these people though it is possible that, as elsewhere, the peasants are not very interested in wars. She offered us a drink of cognac which we refused with explanations of the rules of non-fraternisation at which she seemed considerably surprised. Knorr returned and we talked to him for about 30 minutes in the farm yard. He was very friendly, in fact almost unpleasantly so. He was asked the usual questions, and said that in his view BW was impossible etc and that he did vaguely remember its being mentioned once in Berlin. He said that he had joined the party some years ago, and then a few years before the war he joined the Army in an effort to recover some of his freedom. We did not discuss this as we wanted information. His military duties did not interfere with his work at Wurzburg until the war started. He then became consultant in Hygiene to the Luftwaffe in the West. He continued to do his work in the university which was the direction of the Hygiene institute and the diagnostic lab. and also the editing of the Arch f Hygien. His own research had been on anti-louse agents for which he had bred lice at Wurzburg but had not worked on typhus. Before the war he was interested in experimental epidemiology on the lines of Topley's experiments. He was also interested in water hygiene. He said that his chief in the Luftwaffe was Rose. This man, like Zeiss in the army, was a nobody in science. He said they had heard the Russians might use BW but of course the German army would never stoop to the use of such methods, nor did they think would the English or Americans. He knew of Kliewe and his interest in disinfection. He described him as a third rate but did not know on what he was working now. He said the Nazis might have a secret organisation working on the problem and, if so, it would be in the hands of the SS, and directed by a third rate bacteriologist. Asked about his experiences in the Luftwaffe he said that in 1942 he was flown down to St Omer to tackle an outbreak of typhus that had started among troops from Russia. Though there were a number of cases the mortality was only 5%. There had been a good deal of epidemic hepatitis, especially among the crews of AA guns, and he attributed this to the poor sanitary conditions under which these men lived. He gave us some more information, but nothing to add to what we already knew. Before we left, he said that his lab was working in a few rooms in this village and we said that we would draw the attention of the military govt to his position. It is certainly remarkable how these men manage to set up a lab under the most primitive conditions. We motored through the old city of Wurzburg. This is in the form of a semicircle on the east bank of the Main and the more modern suburbs radiate from it. There were the cathedral and old palaces and the city buildings all together with some park space and then the old houses and shop buildings. The whole area was a complete ruin and the only building still standing was the Nazi party block at one edge. All this destruction apparently occurred in a single raid lasting 25 minutes on March 16-17 1945 and the damage had been increased by severe street fighting in the city. The old citadel stands on the hill on the west bank of the river overlooking the town. It had a vast Heil Hitler sign on the walls on Sunday but on Monday this had disappeared. The walls of some of the buildings in the city had 'Think of your revenge' plastered over them. The city was quiet that night though there had been a good deal of firing up till then we were told, and the fighting in front of Schweinfurt was said to be very stiff. After getting the address of Flury from the M.G. and being told that he had expressed a wish to see the Allied CW experts we spent a reasonable night in the house of the director of the brewery. The beer was very poor.



9th Apr.

8.00 Had breakfast and signed out of 'T' force and then called on Flury. He spoke good English and was very friendly. Before we could start he asked us to see a woman who had come to see him. She was the wife of one of the local Catholic dignitaries and last night her daughter had been raped by an American soldier. We explained that we could do nothing about it but would report it. Her chief fear was that he would return as he had threatened, and would shoot the girl. She was only 17 and just married. We had escorted her tearfully from the room when 2 more, a man and wife, came in to say that their two daughters had also been raped last night. All lived in the same road and the soldiers apparently come up and demand to see the identity cards. Those of the young women they said were not in order and told them to get into the jeeps. They were then driven off into the woods, raped and sent home with chocolate and cigarettes! We reported these to the MG and their comment was that the parents should keep their daughters in the house out of sight because the soldiers see them as they pass through and the night before they pull out they may go on the loose with this result. After these parents had also been shepherded out, we started our interview, and we impressed him that we were not interested in CW. He said that he knew of no work at all on this. He pointed out that in this war, unlike the last, there had been a strict order by Hitler on secrecy and no one talked about his work even to friends also doing different but secret research. Flury's assistant, Prof Neumann, a major in the medical corps was brought in and he described a meeting of the Military Medical academy in May 1944 at which alleged Russian preparations for BW were mentioned. The subject was dismissed as impossible, and this was only one small subject among many discussed at this big meeting. He could not remember the names of those who mentioned the matter. They both agreed that it was possible that the SS might have done some work on the subject but they knew of no good bacteriologist working for the SS. Flury knew Kliewe, and said it was impossible for him to be doing any experimental work as he only had an office and a desk. He also explained the existence of two Wirths Fritz and Wolfgang.

Flury, like Knorr, was very anxious for us to speak to the MG so that they could be released to get on with some work, for at present they are confined to their houses as military prisoners. We pointed out the difficulties of starting everything so quickly. Actually it is difficult to conceive how life will ever restart properly in a small city like this that has been so intensively destroyed.

At 10.00 we left the city and went on the main road to Tauberbischofsheim. Though there had been some serious fighting at places it is extraordinary how rapidly all signs of battle, eg. dead men and damaged allied vehicles are removed. We reported to Corps G2 at the town and were told that Bad Mergentheim was open. We asked about stores of scientific equipment and were referred to the MG. Here we were given a small boy as a guide who took us to the town school, an old building in the centre of the town. Upstairs was a room that had been turned into a laboratory and there was a little physical equipment. This had apparently come from the Philip Lenard institute in Heidelberg. The owner had made some attempts to do some work and the equipment had suffered at the hands of the soldiers. In addition there was much equipment in crates and a room full of the material from the medical school of Königsberg. It is easy to see why the latter should be here but difficult to see the point of moving a laboratory from Heidelberg such a short distance away. There was no trace of the material from Strasbourg. We went down the road to Bad Mergentheim which showed little signs of damage except one small town of Königshafen which was almost totally destroyed. We saw the MG officer at Bad Mergentheim a young captain who had been in two days. He said the ruin at Königshafen was the result of the Americans meeting a detachment of an SS division. At one stage he said that a couple of Sherman tanks and a few small guns were all that lay between them, and this SS division.



3

Bad Mergentheim had been surrendered by the mayor and was in tact with all utilities functioning. The reason was that the place was full of sick and wounded including even sick Russians. He gave us lunch at a small mess in one of the spa centres in this watering place. This was one of the most gaudy type of buildings I have ever seen. The richest Germans must have come here for their cures. We found the hospital at which Kuhn had told us Bickenbach was working. We found an old woman who had been in America and spoke a little English. She was far from amiable, but did help along. We saw Frau Bickenbach and also her sister who was apparently B's assistant at the medical school in Strasbourg. They said that B had left with the army a few days earlier. We questioned them about his work at Strasbourg but they denied all knowledge of his experiments at Fort Ney. Frau B did say that he had burned all his records there. She showed us a cellar where all their personal belongings were housed, and also some of his equipment packed in crates. She said that more of the material from Strasbourg was at Weikersheim in the castle. This town is a few miles NE of this place. After lunch we went to regimental CP in the town and reported in and told them what we wanted to do. As we had no specific orders they said they would have to check us up by phone. This took over two hours though they were very apologetic about the delay. We asked about Weikersheim and they said the last report was that the troops were just entering the place and there was only a little artillery fire coming into the town. We decided to postpone our visit till the following morning. They said they would put us up and feed us. They also lent us some men to return to the hospital and help us go through the equipment. The apparatus seemed to be that of a research laboratory and no trace could be found of the mysterious 'Injektions-gerate'. The good equipment was all of first class quality and much of it seemed never to have been used or, in some cases, even unwrapped. There was only a small incubator and a few bottles of agar and a book on bacteriology that showed any interest he may have had in this work. A few papers, personal and also experimental records were found in one case. Hofer went back and saw Frau B and she was very anxious to know if we had yet been to Weikersheim, and he suspected that she thought her husband might be there. He also overheard a conversation between her and the director of the hospital which indicated that the Bs were not very popular. He wanted to know why B had not made his equipment available for the hospital. She replied that it was obtained specially for his research by Brandt. It is also interesting to note that when we first saw her, and asked for her husband she asked straight away who had told us he was here, and asked if it was Kuhn of Heidelberg. We spent the evening with Col Ruggles of the 88th Inf regiment of the 4th Division. He is a regular soldier and the general demeanor of the troops is quite different to any I have ever seen in American soldiers before. It indicates a great difference between the real soldiers and the specimens that adorn the streets and offices in England. He was very hospitable and liberal with his cognac but Jesse displayed an extraordinary lack of manners in helping himself without any invitation. After supper I pointed out to him the situation, and he agreed and his manners changed for the better. The colonel gave us the story of his division which had been in all the severe fighting since D day. Twice they had been moved in order to rest and once they were caught in the Battle of the Bulge and then in the attack on Strasbourg. As a result they had been first in the 1st then the 3rd and now the 7th army. During the evening one of his colleagues came in wearing the British DSO got in Normandy. The meal was the most formal I had had in an American mess. We thanked him for his kindness, and he said they were always glad to see new faces and talk about something different. We were told the Germans were only a couple of miles away over the hills but the night was very quiet, and we spent it in a requisitioned house.

10th Apr.

8.00 Breakfast and then got route clear to Weikersheim. Reported at the regimental CP at Neuses and went into Weikersheim with some cars of theirs. There was a little artillery fire (American) otherwise no sound of fighting. The little town was badly damaged and fires were still burning in some of the ruins. The castle was a large series of buildings



built in the form of two large courts. Like the one at Bad Mergentheim it had ordinary residences as well as the castle buildings proper. These castles are almost small self-contained villages. This one had a fountain in the centre court from which civilians were drawing water. The troops were just taking over from the ~~same~~ small advanced party that had ~~captured~~ all they had seen was a crated bacteriology lab. from Italy stored in a cloister. We found the daughter of a caretaker, a Red cross nurse, and she obtained a bunch of keys (mediaeval in their dimensions) and took us to three rooms in which were stored crates from the Chemistry, Physics and Medical section of the research institute in Strasbourg. She said a professor from Strasbourg had been down to look at the material after it had arrived but nothing had ever been done with it. She also showed the chapel full of German Red Cross medical supplies including again some Italian material. In another large room were stored all the costumes from some large opera company. We examined the few crates from the medical section and left the rest as they were. Again there was no evidence of any unusual apparatus such as might have been used in the chamber experiments. There were the larger parts of the electron microscope and with the a single book of protocols of some experiments with this. We did not remain long, and reported out at the CP again and returned to Tauberbischofsheim, and tried to get some information about the route back to Heidelberg. It is extremely difficult to get good information even from the situation and map rooms, and everyone has some story of sniping etc likely to deter one from using apparently good roads. The only clue, as a rule, is to meet someone who has actually come over what would be a suitable route. Returned via Mosbach where we crossed the Neckar and then got the Heidelberg over the hill to rejoin the valley a few miles from town; It is beautiful open country and the part of the Neckar valley we saw looked very fine.

On returning to Alsos we found Adam who had come up from Paris on Monday. Ferguson is remaining in Paris and doing administrative work and is unlikely to be out on any field trips. Pash was in from Paris saying that the office had been having complaints from 12th A.G. about Alsos men moving from army to army without proper checking. He said that in future parties on the same subject must be careful to plan their movements so that each tend to stick to the same area. Like so many of these ideas it always seems to work till next time. The complaints fortunately do not reach the office until after the job is done so that the work of the investigators goes on unimpeded.

There is a team going up to Marburg tomorrow and then going on to Goettingen and we decide to send Hofer and Adam with them to cover these targets and I will wait here for Bill and Carl if they both return.

Spent the evening going over Bickenbach's papers which include some letters from various friends. He had been at three universities ending up in Romberg's clinic at Munich. Here he had stayed about 6 years and had published about half a dozen papers chiefly on problems related to cardiology. In a special biography for the Party he stated that when in Cologne as a youth he had belonged to one of the resistance groups. He went on to say that until 1933 he was not politically orientated with regard to the importance of the Nazi party in world affairs but he then joined the party and his rise was rapid for by the end of that year he was fuhrer of the Munich dozenschaft. He then left for a few months to deliver lectures in medicine ~~to~~ at Freiburg and within that short time he also rose to be leader of the dozenschaft. He then came to Heidelberg as assistant to Stein who was director of the KWI for medicine. Since that time he published only one paper on methods of assessing physical fitness and this is prefaced by an account of the importance of this type of work in the Nazi state. He quite clearly became a leading Nazi and his medical work was consequently eclipsed. There was a round letter in the file signed by about 20 Sudeten deutsch students who met in Heidelberg in the summer of 1937 and they thank him for the interest and sympathy he displayed for their cause. There were a number of letters from his old friends and colleagues written during the war. One of special interest



221

55

was from an old reliable student who recalls with pleasure the old days at Munich and reviews the war situation (winter 1942) and points out times are going to be hard but that all this will be a test for the German people and after that they will be able to return to the interrupted program of the prewar Nazi party days when social reform was their plank. This suggests that all the old Nazis may not be as bad as the newer ones like to say. Those who joined the party before 1933 in many cases did so because they thought it more of a socialist party with some good aims. This was what Rodenwald said and he added that he dropped out when they began to interfere with his activities when he was in Dutch East Indies. Those who joined after 1933 were all wanting to get on to the band wagon and share the spoils of victory. It is they who now turn round and say that they only joined because they had to and expect us not to consider them as Nazis. There are many exceptions to all this, but it is impossible to analyse the minds of these German scientists.

11th Apr.

9.00 Adam and Hofer set off with the party for Marburg and intend to cover Marburg and Giessen. They spent very little time briefing themselves for the party. Spent the morning going on through Bickenbach's paper. The scientific ones were not very comprehensive. The book on the work with the electron microscope showed one experiment to have been done in Sept. on cats blood after treating the animal with Aerosol 'T'. This was a single experiment and the first to be recorded after May 1944.

After lunch went over to MFU5 near Darmstadt to see what had happened to Rodenwald. The interrogator was convinced that he had told all he knew about BW and there was no point in pressing him by more drastic measures. Among other comments overheard was an expression of his contempt for the allied war effort. With 6 million men in the field they were only now at Heidelberg while the German army would by now have been in Konigsberg. Left with the promise to ask Pash to see about getting him transferred as the centre was very full, and he was beginning to complain about the facilities he was getting. Then one of the interrogators mentioned an interview he had had yesterday with a young German MO who had a tale about BW. He had been sent down to the cage at Worms that morning so I decided to go and try to find him after getting the name of an officer who would know his whereabouts. It was a hot afternoon and the cage was a seething mass of humanity in all sorts of conditions. It was all in the open air but the smell of dirty humanity was quite the strongest I have yet experienced and was almost nauseating. There were very young and apparently very old in all sorts of uniforms and some in civilian clothes. The PW was found and taken to a room for interrogation with an interpreter. He was 27 and said that after qualifying in Goettingen in 1942 he was in prison for a few weeks for alleged defeatist remarks having apparently expressed the opinion that the Germans had already lost the war. ~~He then spent the~~ He then joined the army and spent the rest of the war until a few weeks ago in Russia. His promotion had been retarded, so he said, because he was not politically reliable. His appearance and what he said would make one suspect he was not reliable in any capacity. In July 1944 he returned to Goettingen and called at the hygiene Institute and asked for the professor (Schuetz) but was told that he was out at a big reservoir which serves Bremen. He asked what he was doing there and his informant, a technical assistant, asked him if he had not heard of the professors great worry. The prof had apparently got some stuff of which a spoonful would poison the whole city of Bremen. He asked more about this, and why he did not take more interest in the remark at the time, he then admitted that perhaps after all the remark was not meant seriously! He had other stories of the SS in Poland one of which was that he saw some bodies of Polish resistance workers that had been killed in a cellar by the SS breaking some large glass vessels full of liquid air and pouring this down on them. He also described a school of forensic medicine in Goettingen under a Dr Jungmiller which was studying methods of killing without leaving a trace. This institute had only one small laboratory



so it is not likely to have any great importance. Omgmichel, as well as Schuetz, were said by the PW to be staunch Nazis. He said that he had done a little work in this place on the use of alcoholic solutions of cyanide in bottles of perfume when the cyanide is released with the warmth of the hands. He said he had many other stories of atrocities to tell but it was not considered worth spending more time on him. It is interesting to speculate how many of these young men there are in Germany who are clearly not cast in the Nazi mould in spite of spending all their later school years and their time at university under the Nazis. There will never be any sort of filter to segregate the potentially sound from the hopelessly perverted. Only the most clever and least scrupulous will get past the boneheads who are apparently to govern Germany for the allied armies. The house at Heidelberg is very quiet and only Baumann remains. Brode came in late in the evening but, as usual, found him impossible to talk to.

12th Apr.

In morning completed a draft report on Heidelberg, Wurzburg and Bichenbach. At noon Blount of SOE called in with an American, Fraenkel. They are on some sort of mission for a committee that is to decide the fate of German science and scientists. If this pair have anything to do with the matter the outlook is gloomy. A suggestion put forward in all seriousness was that the teaching of science in German schools should be prohibited. If this is the best a trained chemist can put forward maybe the soldiers will manage as well as anyone. Apparently the plan is to leave suspects, such as Kuhn, free and then watch them. What they will watch for in a man like that is difficult to understand. That type, as represented by Kuhn, will bend over backwards to help the most powerful party be they German, the Allies or Eskimos and they will have no gratitude or respect for anyone that trusts them. The smaller fry are only interested in their jobs and will do their science under anyone who guarantees them bread and butter. This is the same the whole world over.

In the afternoon went to Darmstadt to try and trace Bickenbach in case he has been picked up in the recent advances of the 7th Army. At CIC they had no information and the Provost marshal section said that Shaef is the only certain source of such data and naturally information takes some time from there. Went up to MFIU 5 and said that Pash would be asked to arrange the removal of Rodenwald to a back area to be kept as a PW. They said they would send in a report of his interrogation of which I saw a rough copy. It contained more details of the medical research organisation of the army and a suggestion that some of the alleged mosquito breeding grounds of the SS might be BW plants.

Darmstadt is a pleasant town that has had its guts knocked out. The Wehrkreis HQ just on the edge of town seems almost undamaged. Quiet evening in house.

13th Apr.

A quiet day indoors reading except for a short walk after lunch with Baumann. Get his background as a biochemist interested in cancer. His field is similar to Berenblum and it is extraordinary how very alike they are.

19.30 Bill arrives by car from Paris with a big party. The worst news is that Carl is now definitely back with the Surg. Generals office and will not be doing any more for Alsos. Col Prentice is coming over from London to see him. I met the latter one day in Eley's office after he had been sent over to organise the U.S side of the CIOS medical team. He seemed to think he must take an interest in BW but seemed to have but the vaguest what the whole thing was all about.

Bill feels that we should waste no time in getting up north to cover Hanover and Magdeburg and possibly Luneburg as there was a report in today that it had been captured by the 2nd Army.



14th Apr.

8.30 Make plans with Bill and arrange an itinerary to bring us back here by next Saturday. Pash says we must go Suchtern to contact Brig Pennycook before going into 21 AG area. Leave a note for Hofer and Adam.  
 10.30 Leave Heidelberg with Bill in a jeep and to pick up an interpreter at Aachen. To Frankfurt on the autobahn and then through town and hit the Cologne autobahn a few miles outside Hoechst. There were two big diversions due to blown bridges but other wise it is a marvellous road wonderfully sited on the crest of the hills with fine panoramic views just as are some of the old Roman roads. No expense was spared and enormous viaducts cross valleys with the result that when blown the diversion may be 5-10 miles to get on again only a mile or two further down. There was very little traffic and it got less and less as we neared the level of Bonn where we intended to cross. We had no detailed map and stopped once and were told that we should turn off soon. Then we saw a small notice saying this part was now under enemy observation. We turned and went back a little and met an ambulance which said it was on the way into the pocket. Finally found the road to Hodges bridge which crosses a few miles south of Bonn and went over and through Bonn, Euskirchen Duren and so to Aachen. The rural areas here are far more damaged than in any other parts seen in Germany. Arrived at Aachen at 18.30 and find only one officer and one scientist (a Dutch born American) apparently a physicist. Had supper and discussed the future of the world. He believes in part state and part private control of industry as in Holland. He said the coal mines owned by the Dutch govt at Limburg were as good as any in the world. He thinks that Germany must be divided.

15th Apr.

8.30 Leave Aachen with a sgt Woolley as interpreter. He seems a very pleasant quiet man and apparently was once in CIC. He has far greater qualifications than any CIC man I've yet met with Alsos. He worked for a year in the offices of an American Radiator Co in Berlin in 38-39. He found life rather dull as it was difficult to avoid political discussions and unpleasant if one partook in them.  
 10.00 Report at T force HQ in Suchtern. The chiefs were away at a Roosevelt memorial service. Saw Ignatieff who welcomed us in a most effusive way and smoothed over all difficulties about T force passes and gave us maps etc. and the address in Hanover. The latter town is in the hands of the 21AG by arrangement with the 9th army which actually captured it. Crossed the Rhine at Orsay just south of the Ruhr. This is depressing country comparable with the worst industrial areas of England. The chimneys of the Ruhr factories could be seen but our route lay only on the edge. Reported to T force at Herten and learnt that they are only covering the Ruhr although 12th AG T force is supposed to act for 21AG as well. They direct us to 9th Army HQ at Haltern but when we get there find it is moved to Guterslof. Go up there through Munster. It was cold and wet and the impression of the country depressing. Munster was very quiet and obviously very badly damaged. Report to G2 of 9th army which is housed as usual in the Wehrmacht barracks which so often seem to escape bomb damage. Officer very formal but quite helpful. Get a bed in the sick bay and have an enormous meal. Shared my room with a colonel in the air corps who is a gunnery expert. He is too old for operational flying but has been on several real trips in his capacity as a gunnery expert. He has been on 30 operational trips mostly in Fortresses but at least one in British night bombers. Describes the immense strain of these long flights over enemy territory and the impossibility of doing more than 2-3 per week. He was knocked up after one to Danzig and owes his recovery to a stay in a special hospital for the recovery of air crews. He said that pilots are very particular about their air gunners and do not like a new one. The gunners have peculiar tricks such as freezing on the trigger and wasting all the ammunition. He told several good Patton stories.



22-1  
 Says he thinks Russia will be too busy with her internal problems to worry about fighting the rest of the world. He was pleased to see Truman's reply to Stalin in which he said that the Russians should send a better representative to San Francisco and as a result they agree to send Molotov.

16th Apr.

9.30 Leave Gutersloh after a delay due to loss of passes by G2 office. A good road for the first part until we leave the main Hanover rd and turn off to Hildesheim and Goslar. This is route No 1 but is narrow, rough dusty and crowded. Hildesheim is very badly damaged and seems almost completely deserted. After the road is better and is very quiet. At times wondered where the 'front' was but then would be reassured by the sight of a few K ration packets or an occasional truck. The road turns off into a bye road which is apparently the supply road to Magdeburg and again is very busy. It takes us through Liebenburg. We stop and see the burgomeister who is polite and obviously a little scared. With him were three Dutch youths who speak a little English. They say they have been there 4 years working in the mines and say they have been well treated. They were asked by a Russian refugee to give him a gun but they refused. The place is quiet and we can find no evidence of the existence of any tunnels or laboratories or SS men guarding any place. There are a few small dumps of army material which we see but are of no significance. At one place a German woman says the Pole who has worked for her for 4 years has said he will shoot her tonight. Decide that if that was how he felt she must not have been a good master and deserves what is coming to her. Call on the village doctor at the small hospital, and he has no information. Said his hospital was overcrowded with refugees and air raid casualties and he has no materials. Doesnt strike one as capable of using materials even if he had them. Went to the next village a mile from the alleged tunnel site and were told the only tunnel there was an air raid shelter built by the inhabitants. Inspection confirms this but the farmer said that there had been a few aeroplane engines stored there until recently. Proceed to XIX Corps HQ at Wanzleben about 10 miles west of Magdeburg and learn the town is not yet clear; There is an aerodrome just this side of the town which is free and we decide to go there in the morning. Meanwhile find a room and beds for two and get a meal after meeting another Alsos party with Hambro and Maj Calvert waiting for the city to fall. They say there will be no territory available east of the Elbe as there will be no further advance by agreement with the Russians. After supper went to camp cinema show and met a lieutenant, slightly the worse for wear, who is in one of the 'talking tanks'. This has a light gun and a loud speaker. When parties of Germans are found in woods he goes up and tells them they are surrounded and that it is better to surrender. Sometimes they do, and sometimes they dont. He said that the bridge at Hildesheim was in tact because he got there and covered the Germans and shouted to some French workers he saw to remove the charges which they were able to do. He said he had met a Pole at the airfield to which we wanted to go who had told him that there was a dump of gas shells. This lieut had apparently been in the party that had cleared the airfield.

17th Apr.

8.30 Leave Wanzleben after breakfast and a good night. All very quiet. Reach 2nd Armoured Div CP in a village about 3 miles from Magdeburg and find the S2 extremely courteous and helpful though obviously very busy with his own work. It is very striking how differently one is treated by the really busy people in the front compared with those who sit at desks all day and seem to take a special delight in making things as difficult as possible. The S2 shows us the way to the aerodrome and says there is a unit down there who will help us. He advises us not to remain on the field after 11 o'clock as there is an air raid planned for midday and



they are pulling out all their equipment to a certain distance from the edge of the city and then returning again after the raid. He says you cannot be too careful as they are using medium bombers! We go on down the road to the aerodrome and can see the city with smoke coming from it but there are few sounds of battle. Apparently there was a bridgehead which got badly mauled but there is still stiff fighting in the city which is the reason for the raid planned for today. We find the airfield and drive on to it. There are a few small hangars and there are still a few dead bodies lying round. The place is smashed up but in the office there are a few documents. The aerodrome we are after is actually said to be on the other side of the river and we see on the board a reference to Magdeburg Sud and Ost as two airfields. There is little to be seen here and we talk with the company officer. He says he has not been over the field and does not know of any bomb dumps but that if we come back after the raid he will show us round. We decide at first that we will wait and see the raid and then explore the aerodrome, and pull out with all the tanks etc streaming along the road. It is impressive how much trouble they are going to take to avoid the risk of getting a hit and it indicates little respect by the army for the accuracy of the bombers. While waiting we go into the CP of another company and ask about the airfield and are told that is only a trainer field. In view of this and the improbability of ever being able to see the other side of the river we decide not to wait for the raid but to get on our way. Go back to Wanzleben and cut across country roads for a few miles and hit the autobahn. This is the main one to Berlin which is less than a 100 miles from where we start. The autobahn is almost deserted and then just before Brunswick we have to leave it for a broken bridge and do not get back on it again. The country here is all very intensively cultivated and apparently this is the root crop and wheat area. Go through Brunswick and along secondary roads which are full of refugees in large and small convoys of small carts etc and with all flags flying. Brunswick is fairly tidy and there is considerable damage evident but the part we went through cannot be compared with that of some of the devastated cities. Stop for lunch on the road side and a Russian PW comes and talks. He was in a military PW camp some miles from here, and they mutinied and freed themselves. He wants to know the quickest route back to the Russian armies or if he will be allowed to fight with the American army. He does not ask for anything, and even wanted to know if we could tell him where he could get a permit to get milk from the Germans. We point out a dairy down the road and suggest he helps himself. We feel after he has gone how we would have liked to have given him food etc but the difficulties are great with so many around and only a few K rations in the car. One such obviously decent fellow would make a good ambassador of goodwill if he ever got back to his unit. This sort of existence is bad for one's finer senses of generosity etc and it is unpleasant always to have to be hard and refuse things to those obviously in need. It was easier to refuse a lift to a German woman saying she wanted to go to a hospital in Hanover as we had no room anyway.

Got to Hanover and reported to the British T force there in the Wehrkreis HQ at the edge of town. This has lost a lot of windows and has had two bombs right in the court and against one wall. The state of the place indicates that it must have been stoutly built. We are assigned a dirty room and the floor is a bed and apologies are made because there are no batmen for the officers. This is a typical British army touch but a servant seems so unnecessary under these conditions though some might be usefully employed in general cleaning. There is no difficulty in getting permission to go where we want and the Veterinary high School is next door. This was a fine institute with about 10 large buildings housing all the various departments standing in its own grounds. The whole place is a shambles, though a few buildings are in a reasonable state, the majority are gutted and smashed. The Hygiene inst is one that is in reasonable state and we find the assistant director living there. He took us round the place and it was just the same as all these hygiene institutes



**Entwicklungsuntergruppe Regulierung**  
in der Arbeitskommission Motorzubehör  
der Entwicklungs-Sonderkommission Flugtriebwerke  
des Reichsministers für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion

**Berlin SW 68, den**  
Kochstraße 18 IV  
Sammelruf: 17 71 66  
Fs.: 01 18 39 (Daimler-Benz, Berlin)



They did mostly routine work and the teaching for about 500 students a year. They did a little research but there was little space for this. We saw the operating theatre and some of the other smashed buildings and then tried to find the director. After misunderstanding the directions we finally found him about 12 miles from the city in a farm where he had his family. Prof Wagener speaks good English and had been in America for a year on a fellowship. He looks a youngish man and was extremely friendly.

It is extraordinary how these educated men who have had their institutes smashed and their homes destroyed and their life for a year or two made wretched by bombing can greet one with a smile and be ready to talk as much as you want them too. They are anxious to forget the whole affair and one can only assume that this ingratiating friendliness is really the result of some subconscious feeling of guilt which they are exorcising by this approach. Certainly in England in 1940-1 when the bombing was at its height there was no feeling of friendliness to the Germans and I cannot believe that any professors I know would have greeted the Germans with a smile if their invasion had succeeded and they had come for an interview in the midst of the ruin they had created. As far as Wagener was

concerned the main problem was what was he going to do and what was the allied policy with regard to all teaching. Unlike the man at the Vet institute at Bonn he did not seem anxious to get back to work in order to help in the disease control of the herds etc in his area. Asked about the

food situation we commented that the farms all looked in good shape and he said the only problem would be the labour as all the workers were now leaving. He seemed to regard this as rather unreasonable! He said there had been little disorder round the village where he was staying and the Americans had soon got everything under control though he had heard that this was not so everywhere. Asked about the institute he said that though they had had some incidents in earlier raids the final holocaust was in the last raid on the city before it fell and it is clear that the target was the barracks next door. He told us all about the situation regarding veterinary disease in Germany and pointed out in particular how the control of TB and abortus fever was difficult in Germany because every drop of milk was needed. In addition the radical policy advocated by the vets was opposed by the farmers and the Nazis had always been very careful to retain the support of the peasants and so if they objected then they had their way. This will no doubt explain the indifference of the peasants to the regime because of this lack of interference which has disturbed the lives of all the rest of the community in Germany.

Asked about BW he said that, of course as scientists we must realise how impossible it all was! The point he made that seemed significant was that there had been elaborate and futile plans drawn up for protection against CW in attacks against animals but never a mention of possible BW. He told us that the High School at Hanover was the biggest in Germany and that the Military Vet Academy was established in Hanover after the Nazis came in for the old one in Berlin had been shut down after the last war. The military students only did their military duties there and came over to the school for all their scientific training and they were taught and examined just as the civilian students. The veterinary problems were chiefly foot and mouth against which they had the Waldmann vaccine which was effective for about 9 months and should be given about 10 days before an expected attack to be effective. A big experiment in East Prussia before the war had led them to have faith in its efficacy and the policy was to immunise all animals round a focus of infection and so prevent its spread. The only new disease they had met recently was a sudden death in swine. The pigs would appear quite normal at one time in the day and a few hours later one would be found dead. They called it 'Herztod' but had no idea what was the pathogenesis.

Returned to T Force and had supper



18th Apr.

8.30 Signed out of T force and took the road to Celle. Owing to a mistake went through quite a large part of the town and it is very badly damaged but not as flat as Cologne. Some of the big state and municipal buildings are still standing. The city must have been a pleasant well laid out area with a big park running into the centre from the east. The place was almost deserted of troops and we were told that there was only one small detachment in addition to the T force company. This seems to indicate the poor spirit prevailing among the defeated Germans though it may pick up later. We took the main road to Celle which was in good condition but almost deserted. This led us to suspect that a bridge was out and sure enough about 5 miles from Celle there was a small bridge over a river partly destroyed. A few strong planks would have seen it fit for traffic. A German civilian seeing us stuck offered us advice on suitable side roads and we eventually came into Celle after wandering over peaty tracks for a few miles. The desolate farm houses all had their little white flags out. The country is poor boggy land with no crops. Celle is a nice little town almost undamaged and T force had a small group of houses. There were no officers in on arrival so we went on to the Gas school just on the far edge of the town. This is part of a group of large modern military buildings all well laid out in large grounds. They were taken undamaged but there were no personnel captured. The CW buildings were being taken over by the 121st Brit General hospital and the O.C. was showing little patience with T force

and any investigators who wanted to see the place. The place had been gone over by the Caft team and the Shaef documents section were in charge of all documents which had been collected under a sergeant prior to dispatch to the rear. A hasty examination of these were made and the only ones of interest were a pile of lecture notes and details of the curricula for the various courses of which there were many. No note of any BW lectures could be found. There was also a file containing full German translations of 17 articles from foreign literature. There were three of articles on BW. These included that of Fox and a Russian and a Polish article. The others were of a semi technical nature on CW. In the strong room there was evidence of the removal of many files but those remaining included the foreign intelligence listed under countries. The small reference files gave the date, origin, author, subject etc and referred to the bigger files in which the reports were filed with translations. There were 14 references to BW but all were in a file that was missing. There were only two that could have been considered as true intelligence reports. The rest, as were all the CW reports, actually examined, came from ordinary publications either of military documents or even newspaper reports of gas exercises. It was interesting to note that the preamble to the CW lecture course was almost a word for word translation of that used at the Army Gas School in England. The courses themselves all dealt with the purely defensive aspects of the subject and interspersed was an occasional lecture with a title such as the 'Poison of Bolshevism'. We had lunch at T force which was a very poor meal and heard an amusing discussion about the nature of Alsos from some CIOS investigators who were expecting three university professors up from this organisation. There was also the Caft team there which included a TO who had been at Porton. They were on the trail of the new gas. So far all the dumps had managed to carry out the ~~Fuhrer~~ Fuhrer's orders to dispose of this and here they had been told to dump it in the Elbe. However the order had come too late and it was still on a train not far away. They said that the Germans apparently were teaching their students the code names of the British gases which are still Top Secret in the Army. This team had decided to send in a report that it was of no interest to send any more investigators up to Celle.

In the afternoon we resumed our search of the records and made a futile attempt to remove the BW articles from the pile but the Shaef documents officer was adamant. It being of little real importance we took it for the night to read.



Had tea with the lieut of T force who was guarding the place. He said he had seen an RAMC colonel who had just come back from a small camp a few miles away where the SS had some Poles and Russians. These men had just been left alone behind barbed wire for weeks without food or any attention. They were naked and the place covered with dead bodies and cannibalism was going on. He said the colonel of the unit in the place was making the SS men dig the graves and had told them they could also consider it their own. It would be interesting to know whether he will carry out his threat. It would be as satisfactory a way as any of dealing with such creatures. The room occupied by this officer in the gas school was apparently that of the RSM. Its size and quality of its furnishings were considerably better than any provided for senior officers at Porton.

We returned to T force and saw the OC who had just come in from Unterluss where they had captured the German military personnel together with 3 civilians who had motored over that ~~morning~~ morning in order to attend a meeting. The woods were still full of German troops but tomorrow they were going up to seize Munster Lager and we decided to accompany them if possible. After supper, another very indifferent meal, a party from U.K. arrived including Mrosowsky and Green. Apparently they do not wait for the CAFT reports or presumably they would not be here. M. has a story of an underground BW factory at Buchenwald which is supposed to have been given by a British PW who asked for paratroops to seize it. We have heard nothing about it but decide we had better go and look into the matter rather than hang about waiting for Munster to open and in any case M will be there to look for any BW evidence.

19th Apr.

After an uncomfortable night on the floor and a poor breakfast we went up to the Gas School again to return the documents we borrowed and make a cursory inspection of the place. The place was planned on a vast scale and had a series of 6 modern lecture halls all capable of holding at least 200 people and then another much bigger hall for shows etc. There were a few small laboratories where presumably the routine chemical tests on war gases were demonstrated. There was no sign of a research lab. There was a large and extremely well equipped museum with the whole history of CW depicted. There were many offices and there must have been a large staff with comparatively little to do.

We left Celle and went to Goettingen via Hanover and Northeim. The road was good and gradually got more and more deserted and at one time crossing the hills before Northeim one began to wonder if the area had yet been cleared. There are more refugees and foreign workers round Hanover than we have seen elsewhere and they thin out rapidly as one gets south. The country is fine rolling agricultural land all well cared for and, as in France and in sharp contrast to England, all the little woods are neat and free from old timber and undergrowth. Reached Goettingen after lunch and found the advanced party from Aachen just fixed up and waiting for the remainder this evening. Discuss the procedure for going to Buchenwald and decide just to go straight there as no one knows where 3rd Army HQ are situated. Went through the town looking for a map depot which was found in a vast military riding school on the edge of town. Like all these ~~towns~~ military establishments it was undamaged. The town has suffered a little but otherwise seems a neat medium sized city.

Later in the evening Dr Bates and Leonard arrive and they had spent the day looking round the camp at Buchenwald. They saw the piles of corpses but most appalling was the 'hospital' with bunks in double tiers and the floors covered with a mass of neglected and dying humanity. They saw the bodies of two SS guards that had been caught by the prisoners and lynched. Later in the evening Carl and Curwen and Harley Mason arrived. They are over on a CLOS mission and are with T force in town. Curwen and H.M. were sent over in a hurry by Childs and have no idea what they are supposed to be looking for and were not briefed at all. They propose to see what they can and take their time about it. Carl is very depressed



as he is now definitely attached to CIOS and his Chief, Prentice, told him that he had been told to set up the organisation and that he had no clear idea what it would yield in the way of results. Had an amusing chat lasting into the late hours and took them home. The Aachen party also arrive later on.

20th Apr.

8.30 leave Goettingen and take a rough cross country route to Weimar. A pleasant drive and the roads almost free from refugees until one got to the ~~xxx~~ neighbourhood of the camp. Weimar seems a pleasant little town and we were put on a road to the camp but this eventually fizzled out and we could see the site of the place so went straight in over the field. Any doubts about the place being Buchenwald were dissipated when a jeep full of excited U.S. soldiers came past and asked if we could tell them if the lorry full of dead bodies had gone this way. Looking round we saw a truck in the distance apparently full of corpses which they must have been burying in fields. The camp was a seething mass of humanity and, with the sun shining and new flags of all nations flying from the huts, had an impression of gaiety. There were many troops and apparently it was the policy to let as many as possible see the place. All the prisoners who could speak any English had put an arm band up and were acting as guides. The administration seemed to be predominantly French and we understood that the largest number of prisoners in the camp had been French. We asked about Balachowsky at the office and they had no exact information but thought he had left yesterday for Paris. A guide took us down to the laboratory and we tried to get some more data there. This little lab is a well built institute and there were still a few men working there. From them it was possible to get a little information but the questioning was frequently interrupted by the sudden irruption into the rooms of gangs of sightseers perfering round for ~~xxx~~ human remains. The ground floor of the lab was devoted to the making of typhus vaccine though one room seemed to have been used for the preparation of museum specimens and there were some injected ~~and~~ mounted brain specimens. There was still a Polish doctor at work in one lab about to mince up some rabbit lung for making the Giroud vaccine.

I asked if the vaccine was used in the camp but he said it was all sent to the Wehrmacht. So here 10 days after the liberation of the place was one of the prisoners quietly going on making the vaccine - a classic example of scientific detachment! They told us that Balachowsky came here about a year ago and was sent because he was a biologist. He had been at another camp, Doora, before that and doing secret work underground but no one knew what it was on. While we were talking a British capt in the I Corps came in and he told us he was from MI 14 and was following the same story that we had got. He had been here several days and could find no clue as to the whereabouts of this alleged underground BW factory. He had also made an attempt to get to Doora but it was too far behind the German lines. We decided that if he could not get a clue then we would be wasting our time and that the whole story was a myth. As we had a long ride ahead and no particular love of horrors we did not look round the camp. Set off on long run back to Heidelberg and got on the autobahn beyond Erfurt. Apart from a 10 mile diversion where the road was not yet finished there is an uninterrupted run into Frankfurt. The road is finely sited and there are a series of grand views first to one side and then the other. The country is all much the same fine rich looking agricultural land dotted with woods. Got to Alsos at 19.15 and enjoyed a meal and much needed bath. There were few there and Hofer and Adam had gone off to Leipzig and Jena and were due back in the next day ork two,

21st Apr.

Spent the morning tidying up and doing some washing. The bridge over the river is now complete for two lines of traffic and civilians.



The 6th AG has partially moved in. Apparently there has been a German aircraft over most nights and there has been a good deal of shooting at lights in houses. There was a volley at this house and one came whistling in over Hofers head as he sat in front of the the uncurtained window. No bombs were dropped except one at some distance. Spent the afternoon writing the report with Bill. He seems very reluctant to put pen to paper and has the undeveloped script so characteristic of large numbers of well educated Americans. In the afternoon Hofer and Adam return. Their chief news is that they found Haagen in a small hospital laboratory and questioned him and failed to take any steps to get him taken up. They seem to have gone into a lot of unnecessary details in their interrogation especially as he was still free to talk as much as he liked. They thought he was in a very nervous state. They had seen Mrs Kliewe at Giessen and got the news that he was no longer in Berlin. They had also seen Hans Schmidt and seemed to have been favourably impressed by him. He told them the old story of being able to distinguish the good from the bad Nazis by taking the date at which they joined the Party. He said that he was not a member. He may not have been but from Henderson's account he had many of the characteristics of a true Nazi when he visited England in 1936. He said that Kliewe was a good scientist and Mrs K said that he had a laboratory and two assistants. This throws a different light on the man and the varieties of the story are so many that one begins to wonder if any of these blighters tell the truth. After a discussion it was decided that I should go to Paris to see Balachowsky and also to examine the RFR records which were supposed to have arrived from Northeim. Ham arranged a flight with ADLS for the morning and I shall probably be away for two days. The war news is good and the papers are full of the stories of SS cruelties. This will be in all the papers which once said Hitler was a good thing when these cruelties were being perpetrated just as blatantly. This is all part of the smoke screen to divert people's attention from the real criminals both in Germany and in the board rooms nearer home.

22nd Apr.

Go down to air strip at Mannheim and have a long cold wait for a plane. The official one never showed up at 11.30 though it was said to have left Paris. Two other planes call which are making round trips and take on a few passengers though they do not reach Paris till late in the evening. At 12.30 a plane lands with a jeep that is supposed to go to another air strip and then return to Paris. He is willing to take passengers. Have lunch at the strip, and there find they have decided to leave the jeep here as the rough weather makes landing etc difficult on these strips. The pilot will take all who want to go back to Paris so we pile in. A motley collection including two PWs. One is a British gunner captured at Dunkirk and looking quite fit and not too thin. He is quiet and says practically nothing. The other is an American airman who crashed about 18 months ago and was in Stalag Luft 11 and then marched down to Nuremburg. He says the British PWs from there went to Bremen. He seemed to admire the way the RAF led the Germans a dance at this camp and also had a picturesque account of how the 12,000 lb bombs felt when you were at the receiving end. The flight was by far the roughest I have experienced and we were thrown about all over the plane especially over the mountains west of the Rhine. It gradually smoothed out as we got to Paris and there it was warm and sunny. They was a band there waiting to receive returning PWs and during the hour I waited for a car from Alsos there were about 10 transports in with PWs on board. Met Brode and a couple of naval people just in from Wiesbaden. Got into Alsos office and got a billet in the Monceau. Had dinner with a major of Marine corps who said very little and wouldn't talk much about the Pacific from where he had just come. We started on the future of the world and had by then been joined by Brode. The latter startled us by his crude ideas on what he would do with German industry. That a scientist can think on his lines is quite extraordinary.



He seemed to think that everything could be destroyed and the whole of German science suppressed. He was not at all clear as to how he would set about carrying out his schemes. The major showed a strong objection to any sort of direction in government and took refuge in the altruistic philosophy of government of complete freedom. He was unconvinced of the possibility of scientific government though eventually agreeing that it was possible to tot up the number of heads to be fed, clothed and housed and so at least form the basis of a planned economy. Saw Goudshmit later in the evening and he had found what he thought a suspicious entry in the RFR records of a subject titled 'Bio-kampf'. He started an interesting train of thought when he pointed out that all this policy of suppressing German science may lead to an unfortunate impression among the layman that science is principally directed to warlike ends and forgetting that the bulk of scientific work and the aims of the majority of scientists are directed to completely peaceful ends.

23rd Apr.

To Alsos offices in the morning and learnt that the Northeim records had not yet arrived and were not expected for some days. Osenberg and his staff were in St Germain but G did not think it worth while talking to him without the records. He explained that Osenberg was an engineer and was given the task of administering the RFR and was building up an empire for himself but that he was far from having the confidence of the German scientists as a whole and his files were incomplete. In particular there was nothing dealing with the research of the army. Goudshmit also had a list of projects that he had got from Kuhn. This was the forerunner of the RFR and part of the old organisation under Goering. Kuhn was originally head of the chemistry section and under this were listed the main medical projects as well. In 1945 he was asked to submit a list of essential projects for the Fuehrer's Notprogram and by this time his field is restricted to that of pure chemistry though he did include the project of his friend Bickenbach among those that should be continued. It seems that the chemists were lucky in having at their head a man like Kuhn who was a good chemist and also a good Nazi. There was a bare list of all the RFR projects classed under several main groups and also a list of evacuation addresses. These and Kuhn's files were searched without finding any reference to anything suggestive of BW work. The reference to Bio-kampf found by Goudshmit was the work of Bersin of Marburg on the physiology of war gases and Bio-kampf was its code name. The name of Bickenbach's project was given as the study of the behaviour of the blood proteins in relation to the action of war gases and bacterial toxins. It was interesting to see the names of some of the projects given top priority and considered suitable for the Notprogram. In some cases as in Bickenbach's it was the position of the scientist rather than the importance of his work that was the deciding factor, especially in the case of a man like Kuhn.

Later in the morning called on Lwoff who is still known as Comm: Antoine and is not ~~doing~~ doing medical work. Was surprised to hear that on his recent trip to ~~Fr~~ England he was solely interested in BW and was given my reports to read which he said that he enjoyed - 'Toujours la politesse! He promised to get me Balachowsky's address. He has no reports on German BW activities and still has the sceptical attitude of the majority of scientists. We discussed the problem of what to do with the Germans and he was all for a radical policy of extermination but of course had no idea how it could be carried out. He cannot envisage any reasonable attitude to the Germans being successful and seems to think they are congenitally incapable of behaving like civilised people. The French do not have a clear policy and it obvious to the outsider they have plenty to do to set their own house in order.

Spent the rest of the day with the Osenberg indexes listing



any possibly interesting names. Lwoff rings up and gives me Balachowsky's address in a village near Versailles.

I have supper in the evening at a table with an American naval lieutenant and a young Frenchman his guest. He was discussing the wholesale corruption in every branch of French life. Everyone was dishonest as the result of the four years of occupation when the telling of lies on every possible occasion when dealing with the government was considered a patriotic duty. This habit had not been discarded which points clearly that the average Frenchman cannot regard the present government as his own but rather one thrust on him by new but external forces. The youth points out the great increase of the civil service. From  $\frac{1}{2}$  million in 1936 it now numbers some 5 million and many of these men were at the same posts during the occupation. Their standards of honesty are non-existent and even the postmen are completely unreliable and there is no sort of redress for the opening of parcels and the removal of any valuable contents which seemed to be an activity that particularly gripped this young man. He says there must be a return to individualism but his departure to a theatre prevents me from finding out quite what he means.

24th Apr.

Get to office and fix a car to go to see Balachowsky. Find him at the address Lwoff gave and he said he returned yesterday. He speaks good English so conversation is not difficult. The first thing that strikes one is how fit he looks and by no means underweight. This may partly be explained by the fact that he received Red Cross parcels just as did the prisoners of war. This had been arranged for him by his colleagues in the British museum who had heard that he had been taken prisoner. He was actually caught with 3 radio transmitters in his house, a few parachutes and one English agent. He was lucky not to have been shot. He and the agent were taken to Buchenwald Doora and then to Buchenwald. The latter was hanged by the SS a few weeks before the liberation of the camp. He had worked in an underground rocket factory at Doora and then been sent to Buchenwald to work on the preparation of typhus vaccine. They were making both the Giroud rabbit vaccine and they had just started the Weigl vaccine and were completing the apparatus for the injection of the lice. He said that most of the vaccine that left the camp would have neither a toxic or antigenic activity and is was chiefly rabbit blood. He had never heard of any work in relation to BW or any rumours of SS activity in that direction. They had some SS doctors in the camp and they worked on typhus and on phosphorus burns. They were third rate men and their experiments were valueless because they killed all their patients vaccinated and unvaccinated. They did most of their experiments on Russian PWs. He then described the organisation of the camp which revealed a few startling features. The SS guarded the exterior of the camp and were responsible for organising the work and sending in the supplies etc. But the whole of the internal organisation of the place was in the hands of the German prisoners. Many of these were political prisoners but there were also common criminals and moral perverts etc. These men had charge of the feeding, housing and recreation arrangements. In many ways they were as bad, if not worse, than the SS in their treatment of their fellow prisoners. He said that only a few Russian, Polish and French communists were well treated. The trouble was that these men were being liberated and hailed as the new Germans, and heroes of a foul regime. They had reported a number of the worst to the Americans relieving the camp and he believed that some had been rearrested. The camp revolted before being liberated and this was organised by the Russians. Many of the SS were killed and all were captured and beaten up. Balachowsky asked if I had met Dr Briault who was at Buchenwald, but I said not and closed the subject! Told Salant what I had heard and he was very keen that these facts should be more widely known. He said he had a good friend who was in Poland when the Russians occupied it in 1940. Their policy was ruthless and anyone in a decent house was shot up without ~~hesitant~~ hesitation. Says these facts were not allowed to be published even



in America. This is probably because the observations of one man were by no means the full story and anyway the Polish aristocrats were not worthy of any good treatment and their fine houses were probably centred in a country as poor and miserable as any in the world.

During lunch Eckmann casually mentioned that an RAF officer, he thought he was called Smith, had been trying to get me some days ago. He had told Smith that we had everything under control! This is typical of the casualness of this Paris office. Went round to the office to see Smith but he was out until the next morning. Saw a man named Frank who gave us two targets of labs in the country of which they were suspicious. One was operating under the cover name of Krebsforschung and as it was an SS lab they were suspicious not believing the SS had any interest in cancer research. However I was not convinced that this might have been a genuine project. Later re-examined the RFR files and noted that 6 bacteriologists were all assigned to a project under a man named Jotten working ~~the~~ in the Reich Inst for Dust Lung Diseases. This seemed rather odd and wondered whether this might be a clue to some extramural research work.

Fixed up a return trip to Mannheim for the next morning. Goudshmit is going back too, and the important south area is opening up. Had supper with Kelly who seems to have been given the hopeless task of organising the scientific activities of the mission. I imagine that in fact he helps along wherever he is wanted.

25th Apr.

To office and then to see W/C Smith just back from Switzerland. He had the story of Buchenwald from a different source and knows nothing about the PW story. He knows of no request from London to get in touch with me to tell me about it all. He has no more information about the Pottenstein targets. Return to office and get the plane at 12.15 Have an uneventful trip with a stop at Verdun where the airstrip is literally a hay field. At Alsos find G already there and a trip fixed up for Hechingen whence Bill went ~~in~~ two days ago. Apparently all is going well and a party is going down in the morning to which I can attach myself. Adam and Hofer are still here waiting to go the Nurmberg when the orders get up from Paris. As usual the office has failed to tell them that they have been cleared by phone. They arrange to go off in the morning.

Late that night Pash arrives and the expedition in the morning is to be much bigger so plenty of room.

26th Apr.

Up at 7.15 and party all ready at 9. Hofer and Adam get away by 8.30. In the party is Sir Charles Hambro and an English major of unknown qualifications. The presence of this banker on a scientific expedition arouses interest but no confidence in the purpose of his mission. There is also an RAF metallurgist who seems to have been left out in the cold and had his trip cancelled. Apparently he is protégé of Hambro who is now in on the physics story by all appearances. Finally leave in a convoy of 3 jeeps and a command car and have an uneventful trip down through Stuttgart and Tübingen. The former is badly knocked about in the centre but it is so spread out over the surrounding hills that a large part of the residential area appears in tact. It must have been a nice city. It is at present in the hands of the French and they have apparently mobilised every adult male and armed them with shovels to clear away the debris from the pavements. This work is done by a single man and a bulldozer in the American army. In any case here there seems to be little need for it as the streets are clear and wide enough for 4 lines of traffic. It is just another example of the French seizing a chance of getting some of their own back on their enemies. Arrive at Hechingen in time for lunch and just in time to stop Bill taking off for Heidelberg. He has cleared the KWI for biology and also Butenandt at the evacuated KWI for Biochemistry and virus research at Tübingen. He had had a very



unsatisfactory interview with Stickl the prof. of bacteriology and also rector of the university. Tell him of the curious connection with the institute for Lung diseases in Osenburg files and Stickl is one of the bacteriologists mentioned as working in connection with it. Decide to reinterview him. The KWI for Biology was under Kuehn, an old man engaged in pure academic research on genetics. His chief complaint was the loss of the younger scientists in the army. Of some 18 assistants of his whom he had at one time trained something like 12 had been killed. Butenandt seemed to be the first example of a man carrying on pure academic biological research in a medical field and he was covering a number of fields. He had been offered the chair at Harvard in 1936 but had refused when the German govt had offered to build him a fine institute in Berlin and had then done this. Later they had suggested building a separate virus research institute but he had advised against it because of the absence of suitably skilled scientists to work there. Went in to Tübingen with Augustine to re-interview Stickl. He was tough proposition and was not willing to part with any information. He at first denied having any correspondence with The RFR but produced a file and withdrew a circular and later Bill found a letter in this file. He remained quite unperturbed at being thus caught out and it did not alter his attitude at all. He said he thought he had heard of the Institute for Dust Lung Disease and had met Jotten last in Vienna in 1938. He denied any other contact with him since then. He was willing to talk about his own icterus and sulphonamide work and like every other bacteriologist seems to have worked with the electron microscope. His file was removed for further examination.

In the evening the physics boys have a long session apparently trying to decide what to do with the Germans who have given them all the information including the location of their material which was in a cesspool! As well as Hambro there is Cecil and another RAF and a naval officer. All seem the most cheery types and not much of the august scientists about them. One comment of a German physicist, who saw G, was that the Americans must have spent more money trying to find out what the Germans had done than the Germans got as a grant for their researches! Slept in house over the office of the factory taken over as Alsos HQ.

27th Apr.

Spent the morning looking over the file of Stickl which showed him to be the Aussenstellenleiter for the Tübingen district under the RFR. He probably did only a little administrative work but there was the name of Jotten and the Reich Inst for Lung diseases at Münster about which he almost certainly knew. It seems that the work under Jotten was one of the subsections of the general medicine division and probably had a perfectly innocent function. There was some letters and circulars from Brandt pointing out the slow diffusion of information about the work of other scientists and inaugurating a special paper of small abstracts to which all are asked to contribute. It was clear that Stickl was unwilling to furnish even the most innocent type of information and Goudshmitt expressed a wish to see him and we arranged to go again in the afternoon. It was also decided to try and find out the whereabouts of Hirt who had come here from Strasbourg. Before lunch a party went up to the Hohenzoller Castle which is finely situated on the peak of a small hill at the edge of the range. From a distance it has the appearance of the ornate later castles. We saw over it with a guide and found it to be completely modern though allegedly built on the site of an old castle. It was a place entirely lacking in distinction except for its situation. The rooms were small and unimpressive and the furniture the worst type of Victorian style. Apparently it is a show place in peace time for it has a large restaurant in the stables. There is an impressive approach up a steep road running over about 4 moats through three walls and gates. The descent with 8 in a command car was marked by a striking display of nervousness on the part of three apparently tough officers!

Went to Tübingen with Dr Goudshmitt and tried again to interview Stickl but G, said it was useless trying to get information from such



a man. Though irritating at the time one cannot help feeling some sort of admiration for the man who is doing what he thinks is his duty to his country. He is obviously no genius in the scientific world but his attitude is in striking contrast to the smiling friendly mien of all the others we have met with exception of Rodenwald. We went on to see Butenandt and he seemed very aimable and, when asked, said that he thought Stickl had done a lot of good for the scientific depts of Tübingen and had been very helpful to B when he came down from Berlin. Butenandt stressed the damage German science had suffered by the loss of many promising young men on the battlefield by the ruthless removal of them in the early days of the war. The chief good the RFR had done was to secure their release and that was often for quite non-essential work. He introduced us to an assistant he had got back from the army who was engaged in pure academic research. This young man then took us over to the Anatomy dept. This had a notice out of bounds by the French army but ignoring this we found a caretaker inside. He said that the professor Wetzler was also an SS man and had gone with the army some days before. Hirt had left about 6 days ago; not 6 weeks as Stickl had told us. The dept was very large and had a fine lecture room of modern design. The place was deserted and had been shut for the last 6 months. We found Hirt's property in four chests in the cellar but it contained no documents. Tübingen is undamaged and was apparently another hospital city like Heidelberg and Bad Mergentheim. It is in a very pleasant setting and the valley down to Hechingen runs along the edge of the mountains which continue on into the Black Forest. There were soldiers at intervals all along the road apparently waiting for prisoners who come out of the woods. The area has been overrun very quickly and only a few roads actually covered by the army. Apparently "Alsos advanced" were the first in the area of Hechingen and this has been their big operation and a great success.

28th Apr.

Leave Hechingen at 9.00 and get to Heidelberg for lunch after a cold dull drive. The road is not very interesting though one small town of Brucksal which is smashed to bits apparently contained a curious castle or square of heavily painted buildings. The signs of the French are not impressive. Their convoys are badly driven and consist of a motley collection of all types of vehicles with several in tow. They often have animals in them and even drive the sheep along the road. Their Arab and other troops look a rough collection and the stories told of their behaviour are not very attractive.

At Heidelberg there are few there and Bill and I decide to sit down and review the present status of BW intelligence with a view to planning future operations. This takes us until late into the evening. It is important for helping the planning of future Alsos operations as their other high priority objective is now virtually complete. We decide that the CW research may be what holds the clue to any BW work excluding any possibility of the SS having had anything to do with it. Goudshmitt explains as much as he can of the relation of the SS to research.

At the start of the war there was no organised war research and only those working for the Luftwaffe got any help. After 1942 it was realised that something had to be done so an old research organisation was revived and put under Goering. He seems to have done little and the RFR was established nominally under Goering but with more active assistants. Their policy was to get men out to do the work and they had a big clerical set up under Osenberg who was building his own interests and had not got the confidence of the scientists and especially the army. The SS seem to have taken an active interest in some projects and Himmler or his subordinates have written in some cases to ask what could be done to help the progress of the work. They ask if red tape, money, apparatus or lack of man power is holding up progress.



Dr G also told us some of the work with radar of which the remote control of bombing was the most fascinating. Apparently he knows Jackson well and regards him as a good physicist and an odd character.

29th Apr.

Spent the whole day writing up the report and summary of the pre-staus of BW intelligence. The latter was difficult and rather depressing. Pash and G talk about the future of the mission and it is agreed that we must continue until we have some key personalities.

Bates returns from Stuttgart full of tales about the appalling behaviour of the French. In the papers today is a note that they have refused to evacuate Stuttgart in spite of orders from Shaefer and a previous agreement that they would do so. They are raping and looting without restraint and altogether seem to have made no useful contribution to the fighting in Europe. This is their regular army as opposed to the FFI and one can visualise the effects on the spirits of the FFI when drafted into such an organisation. Col Farrant returns full of tales of his prowess in extracting every bit of information about the shale oil industry from the Germans. For this purpose he armed two Russian refugees and did his interviewing in the presence of this array. He seems to have got all their documents on a new process of extraction of shale oil and they do not even have copies. This is all a new field in the oil industry about which the Germans know a good deal and it is one that will become important when the present mineral oil resources begin to fail. It would be interesting to know on whose behalf Farrant has been doing all this work and which of the allies will benefit! In the evening Ham gets a message from T section 6th AG that Munich will be open and we plan to go down with a small party tomorrow. We leave a note for Jesse and Henry that they go to Paris and find out more about the CW side and then go north to cover the targets there. A discussion in the evening with Bates and C on the future of the world. Bates is a believer in a social program and said that the only party with one in the recent election was Norman Thomas who got 180,000 votes of which his was one. Am surprised to hear Bill express the view that you can improve democracy by high taxation. This is Shaw's idea but you have to have the democracy before you can tax the rich and powerful groups! Bates believes that America will remain the only truly capitalist state.

30th Apr.

Leave Heidelberg at 10.30 with Ham and Augustine, Bill and Bauman and 3 jeeps and a command car. A slow journey to Heilbronn which is almost in total ruins. It gets increasingly cold and with an incipient snow storm we turn into a pub and eat a K ration lunch. After that climb the hills to Hall in a blinding snow storm and bitter cold. After Hall go through Crailsheim which is also totally destroyed and resembles Duren in this respect. Then start following T signs and take a cross country run through the old town of Dinkelsbühl which is untouched and very fine example of a mediaeval town except that the streets are unusually wide. The city wall seems to be complete with gate houses etc. There are a few similar towns and then we get to Nordlingen where T force is supposed to be. There is message there that they have gone on to Neuberg and again we follow their signs over the merest tracks to Donauwörth where we cross the Danube which is far from Blue. Cross the river twice and then get into Neuberg which is deserted. The T force sign is outside a house but they are not there. The residents say they left in a hurry yesterday afternoon and the MG is ignorant of their movements. The town is completely deserted as a result of the curfew and apparently the MG officer and a few men are all the forces in the neighbourhood. We go on to get a little nearer Munich in the growing dusk over country tracks and finally end at Schrobenhausen as it gets dark. Here we get into a small hotel and there are a few troops in the town who are pulling out in the morning. Have a K ration supper and get into beds in this almost deserted pub



possessing the most eyeill small back yard imaginable. The owners are very friendly and state that all the families in the village like Americans for there is not one that has not got a member in the States and but for Hitlers orders in 1936 all would have been there by now!

May 1st

Up early after a good night and had a K ration breakfast and got moving with a guide from another unit to show us the way to the main road to Munich. It is fine but very cold. There are a few refugees about and an occasional conc. camp prisoner, presumably from Dachau. Stopped at an advanced CP who said the road was not clear last night but is this morning. Apparently the town surrendered but there is still fighting all round the place. Got in via the main road and there was an extraordinary exhibition of German civilian looting. Many had cycles and were carrying new skis and others had all sorts of job lots with them. It got cold and began to snow. In the town there is much destruction and though the skeletons of many buildings are standing the majority are gutted. This was surprising for the town did not seem to have as many raids as some smaller ones. The streets are full of civilians looting food and clothing shops and there are many British PWs around. Spoke to one who was in a camp nearby. Found T force in the Nazi museum which is quite intact. Got a very cold reception from Pompelli who cursed Pash for busting up his last operation (Hechingen) and said he would give us no facilities. I felt rather depressed but the others very pleased and set off to find a house. This is got within an hour and we take over a nice house with electric light and warm water and beds together with three women from a bombed out house who live in the cellar. They are to do the cooking in return for their food. Get settled in and stoke up the boiler while the others go round for rations etc. The owner of the house had taken most of his stuff out and his papers showed him to have been a grocer and to have travelled in Belgium, France and Russia for requisitioning food presumably. He had apparently done well out of the war and the Nazis as was pointed out by the woman who recommended that we take his house rather than hers. At present they were carrying on a small grocery business from the basement in which he had stored some supplies from his shop. An enormous queue formed up after lunch and waited passively in the cold for their rations. They didnt have the appearance of Herrenvolk. There was typical Alsos supper with a mountain of food as a result of having about 12 people and drawing rations for 24. Slept well in good beds.

2nd May.

Woke up to 2 inches of snow and still bitterly cold. Went off in jeep with Augustine to look for alleged tunnel site at the edge of town. The streets still full and the main buildings of the town are all smashed up though not so ruined as, say, Colgne. There was a hospital and a large building at the site marked. The building was taken over by a unit and it was a large map making and photographic unit. Here they took the aerial photos and made models from them and recopied them. This must have been a big outfit and among the many photographs there were some of Port Sunlight; the others were all German. There was an extensive basement which we examined but only found stores for this depot. Went to the hospital which was a German ~~army~~ military unit still intact. The O.C. was interviewed and said though he had been there 3 years he had heard of no recently built tunnels. The Hitler salute was given freely both to us and all the staff as they were met in the passages. He told us that Magnus had died last year from a cerebral tumour and that he was a great friend of Hitler.

Called on Kisskalt who is prof of Hygiene. His institute was completely destroyed and a few rooms in his damaged <sup>house</sup> were turned into sort of labs. The rest of his dept had moved out to a military lab a few miles away. Kisskalt was not in good shape as a result of having a tooth out that morning. He spoke a little English and was formally polite and did not hesitate to answer questions. He agreed to write a summary of the



work done and the personalities at his institute. In the afternoon went out to Bachau to see if there were any labs out there whose activities might give rise to rumours of BW. The camp is just outside the village and is approached up a double avenue lined with small modern villas. At the beginning of this drive was a railway line along which was a freight train with a variety of open and closed wagons. These and the lines around were strewn with dead bodies which judging by their appearance were those of prisoners. On the grass opposite were a few bodies with their heads smashed in, presumably some of the guards. The outer gate of the camp led into a huge asphalt yard with big buildings all round it. These were the barracks and administrative offices of the guards. Access to the camp was difficult as the place was closed to sightseers. Finally we got permission to visit the laboratory. Here we met a Slovene doctor who spoke good English as he had been for two years at the Harvard school of Public Health. He had a colleague with him and they told us about the labs. The one they were most indignant about was that of Prof Schilling for malaria research. They said they had seen young men dying of pyramidal poisoning, exfoliative dermatitis from arsenic and encephalopathy. There was also a physiology lab where they studied effects of pressure and of exposure on humans. This had moved en bloc to Lake Constance. A few months ago a lab had come from Oswiecz and had set up but had not started. Most of these had gone en masse two days before the camp fell but he said there was a 'Dr' Schuster still in the camp and they had asked the Americans to arrest him. He was with the lab and we gathered he was one of the scientists in the lab. As some new visitors come along we decide to lose no time looking for Schuster and are taken by the guide - a Czech political prisoner - to the close confinement cells where the SS men are now incarcerated and have been put on the job of scrubbing the floors watched over by the exprisoners. The four we spoke to were Czech, Austrian, Sudeten German and a German from the International brigade. The last had been taken from France whither he had fled after Franco's victory. There was no sign of Schutz so we went back to CIC offices and they had got him. The prisoners part of the camp was still closely guarded by some of the prisoners and a pass was needed to get in. This may have been on account of the typhus which was raging within. We were pressed to go to the crematorium and see 1000 bodies and also the gas chamber but did not waste the time. We saw Schuster and he was willing to talk. He took the line that he was being hardly treated owing to the tale bearing of his colleagues. We asked what he did in the lab and he denied all knowledge of it and said he was only an ambulance driver. This was the wrong line so we asked him to tell us what he had heard about the labs here and at Oswiecz. This started him and he said that he was not a doctor though he spent 5 years studying medicine chiefly in Italy where he had also had an hotel. He was arrested by the Gestapo when he crossed into Germany from Italy in 1942 to see his father. His crime was evading military service and being suspected of being a British agent. He was sent to Oswiecz and had been there as a prisoner until a few months ago when he came here. He insisted that he had no professional connections with the lab though he obviously knew a good deal about its work. There were three big camps near Oswiecz and there was a bacteriology lab where they studied typhus but they had no success in trying to show that the vaccines were any good as all the patients died. This may have been due to the fact that they used blood from a patient to infect their men. He said the prisoners used to buy their vaccine from the Poles through the fence! There was also a lab examining typhoid dysentery etc. This was probably a routine lab. There was also a cancer research unit using women and he believes using X-ray treatment. This first lab was a big organisation and had 25 assistants mostly Jews and these had all been taken away. He named three scientists in charge of the lab. Decided there was nothing further to be gained and returned to Munich and another mammoth meal in the best 'advanced' tradition. Later Robinson arrived from Heidelberg with a note from Jess and Henry saying they did not want to go to Paris and they would wait until we returned as they thought they were to go south. This had an acute effect on Bill and a note was sent by Ham who was going up next day that Jesse could either do that or report



to Goudshmit for further orders ~~xx~~. This seemed to be a useless protest and most probably originated in Jesse's wish to go south. It certainly has wasted a couple of days.

3rd May

Decided to visit the Anatomy school as Kisskalt had told us that Clara, the professor was an SS man. The dept was moderately damaged and we saw a youngish man named Bauer who said he was assistant prof and had been in America so could speak English. His wife also could speak a little. He told us a little about the set up of the SS and science but he was extremely nervous of talking and kept asking if we were sure the Americans would stay. He asked us to come again to his house and not the dept where others would see him. He was a contemptible man and when I asked him about the students revolt in 1943 all he could say was that he had had two of his best students killed by the Gestapo and 'he was very sad'. Apparently they held a meeting to demand the restoration of their liberties and defied the police on the grounds that it was an academic discussion. Several were arrested and some hanged. This seems to have been the sole revolt about which we have heard in Germany and it is interesting that it should have occurred among those whom everyone assumes will be so steeped in the doctrine of fascism that they will be incurable. Far from it; these are the one set of the population who are capable of appreciating freedom. An outline of the SS and science was given by Bauer. He said they planned to get control of every aspect of German life and part of this was science and research. As a result they had started by getting some of their men, usually second rate scientists, appointed to university chairs but now they were going on to the second stage and were beginning to build institutes of their own. Clara came to Munich from Leipzig where he had gone a few years ago to a position in the anatomy dept and he had sprung from complete obscurity and had done no scientific work. He wrote and lectured at Munich and did his SS duties. One got the impression that Bauer should have had the job and that he was not encouraged to do research work by Clara and was doubtless held down and lived in fear all the time judging by his character. His wife asked if it was true that the French were going to occupy Munich with Moroccan troops. We said we didn't know and when she said it was awful to have Germany occupied by such troops we turned on her and said that no troops in the world could behave as badly as the Germans in Russia.

In afternoon went to a camp at Achau just on the edge of Munich which we had been told was a branch of Dachau where the lab might have gone. Found a camp of huts without a fence in which were a number of excited and partially drunk French and Russian workers all calling each other 'Gestapo'. One handed in a battered but loaded pistol and there was general confusion. We got away as quickly as possible and realised that these were probably the scum of the earth being volunteer foreign workers for the Reich. They were apparently creating hell in the village. Returned to get Kisskalt's report and found him in pain from neuralgia but managed to have quite a discussion with him. He had prepared a report on the lines we asked and it contained what we wanted to know. We asked him about Schilling and he said he was a good scientist. When we asked him how a good man like that came to be working at a place like Dachau he seemed surprised at the question and said surely it was just an ordinary prison and had nothing specially wrong with it. He said he had never been there so we said he was never to say it was an ordinary prison until he had seen it or heard more about it. He seemed to be very genuinely surprised at our remarks about the place. We then asked about two of the bacteriologists named by Schuster as being in the lab. He said that Weber and Muench were both old assistants of his and were good men. The latter went into practice at the order of the M. of Health and then he heard he was in Cracow working on typhus. Weber he knew went into the SS and was working on typhus. He said the SS made approaches to certain good young scientists and being the SS it was not easy to refuse them. It was not always fair to assume anyone in the SS had any specially bad characteristics. This was a new view point and presumably this was more to do with the attempts of the SS to control science.



Kisskalt had found out a little about Brandt and said he was reputed to have done some good work on fractures while in Munich. Magnus was a friend of Hitler and thus presumably the former became Hitler's surgeon. Brandt had been put over Conti because of complaints about the latter from the army on the way he was calling up medical personnel. He knew Mrugowsky as a man who had been at Halle and then disappeared a number of years and the suddenly reappeared as director of the Hygiene lab of the SS. This lab had turned out work on epidemiology and he knew of no other interests it had. Asked about Zeiss he said he didn't like him. On being asked why, he replied that Zeiss was given the chair at Berlin when Kisskalt hoped to get it. A human reaction! Asked why a man like Stickl got to Tübingen he said that that sort of thing had been happening since 1933. He mentioned the work of another colleague of his who had shown that the excretion of urine of a guinea pig per day varied with the barometric pressure.

4th May

Went over to see the military path. lab. at a village 5 miles from Munich. The lab in Munich had been damaged by bombs some months ago and they had moved here. The director was a major in the Vet corps who was a native of Munich. He had been in the Veterinary school and told us that this had been shut down for 2 years. This lab serves Wehrkreis VII and does all the military pathology in this area as well as food and water testing. They were responsible to the consultant in hygiene for the Wk who was down at Feldefing. This major knew nothing about the people in Berlin and never had any communications with them. He gave us the area consultants name - Schaetz- and said he went down there because of a typhus epidemic. The lab was quite well set up in a school and the work they do is plain routine. They did 28,000 WRs a month. Went to the Munich HQ of the Wk which was partly damaged. They knew nothing about Schaetz present whereabouts except that he was probably at Feldefing. They seemed to be at a complete loss and asked what they should do. Advised them to get in touch with MG. Went on to Clara's house which was being occupied by two German men and two girls apparently not their wives. The place was more or less deserted and no papers except the manuscript of his book on the blood vessels.

Spent the afternoon writing reports and sent out two CIC men to try to locate Schilling and decided to see him if available to get the set up on how a man gets to work in a conc. camp. Get a bunch of reports written and try to give a picture of the SS and medical research. CIC men return to say they have had Schilling taken up and he is at the camp and they are expecting us to go out tomorrow. Go for a short walk to try to get rid of the effects of chronic over-eating.

5th May

Went out to Dachau with Baumann as interpreter as he wanted to see the place. Found the place much as before except that the dead SS men had been removed. It was difficult to get in as a pass signed by the corps general was necessary and the place was out of bounds for typhus of which there were said to be over a thousand cases. Everyone going in the camp properly was being dusted. Got in after contacting the CIC and saw Schilling in their offices. He was an old frail looking man about 75 who spoke good English and seemed quite willing to talk. He was an extraordinary personality and entirely absorbed with the preservation of the results of his work. We pointed out that we were interested in how he came to be at Dachau and not in the moral aspects or technical details of his work. He seemed willing to talk on anything and the moral aspect seemed not to worry him at all. That he was conscious of its existence was apparent because at one point he stated that of course he could never publish his work as it had been done on men. He was heartbroken that the SS in Berlin had ordered the destruction of his records and that he was ill at the time and unable to prevent this loss.



He attributed this decision to the authorities in Berlin becoming frightened. This he seemed to regard as a contemptible state of mind. He gave us his history and that showed him to have worked for many years in lunatic asylums on malaria and he may have approached his work at Dachau in the same way he might have started his work on lunatics. He made no mention of any deaths and we did not press for details but he did say that some of his cases treated experimentally with large doses of ~~mark~~-pyramidon got agranulocytosis after a week. He had worked in Berlin after his retirement in 1936 and then in 39 had got permission to work in Italy to study artificial malaria in patients who had had it as children. He then met Conti at a dinner in Rome and when the latter heard what he was doing he said that he must come to Germany. He then received orders to go to Germany and he saw Grawitz the head of the SS medical service and had an interview with H. Müller. The latter was apparently obviously intelligent and the Germans were interested in immunity to malaria because of the possibility of settlers going into the Ukraine. He worked at Dachau continuously since the beginning of 1942 and had never had a holiday nor seen any professional colleague though he corresponded with Gildemeister and told him roughly what he was doing. His formal reports went to Grawitz. He said he had very little contact with literature and he said German scientists were 10 years behind the times. He cursed Hitler for his damage to German science. This seemed to be his big grouse against the regime. He spoke gratefully of his assistants one of whom was a Czech medical man and another a Jew who had rescued a few of his records. He said one was a first year medical student and sadly he said what can the poor fellow do now with a break of 5 years in his career. This extraordinary mixture of emotions was impossible to analyse. It may have been that he was an old man but yet his faculties and memory were excellent. He seems to be an example of that caricature of the German scientist who pursues his legitimate scientific ends without thought of the ways he is pursuing them. Left him to the CIC with the suggestion that he be let out to write up his report as we were sure the last thing he would do would be to destroy any evidence that might be used against him since it would be part of his scientific results. On the way back from this depressing place we saw the sun on the Bavarian alps and decided we must get closer to them and determined to go down to Feldefing to see Schaetz.

After lunch took Dittersheim down to Feldefing and found the colonel with an American sanitary officer about to see a DDT dusting demonstration. This officer told us that there were two freight trains on the railway nearby partly filled with dead conc. camp prisoners. Just before the fall of the camp the SS had piled up two train loads and run them down here and let them loose in an attempt to obstruct the progress of the armies. This accounted for many of the prisoners in stripes we had seen wandering around and probably the train at Dachau was one they had failed to get away. Some of the passengers were in such bad shape they had not even survived this short journey of a few hundred yards. While we waited for the colonel some more prisoners came up and we talked a little to them. They were all Jews from another working camp nearby and had come from Oswiecz. There were two Lithuanians and a Hungarian. The former were very lively and gave picturesque descriptions of life in the camps and the fate of the SS at the end. One youth was 19 and had been in there 4 years. It was extraordinary how little this experience seemed to have upset his general mental bearing. They all described how they had had their women folk shot in front of them. Asked about the Russians in 1940 they said they were fine. To them a man was a man. They confirmed the story of the gas chamber at Oswiecz with the train they ran in and said the record killed in one night was 30,000. At Muldorf where they had just been they were worked in a concrete plant and badly fed and the man died of exhaustion and hunger or just the latter. We then saw Schaetz and asked him a few of the usual questions. We asked him about the MMA and the about Klieve and he said that Klieve was here. We hurried round and picked him up and took him to Munich. He came without comment and we got him fixed in the quarters and had an interrogation with him after dinner at which it became



June

Cells  
the  
conve  
ably  
from  
resu

clear that he was in charge of BW since 1940. He was our target and we decided to take him to Heidelberg for detailed questioning. He was a pleasant man and full of little stories and gossip about Berlin and the Nazis. He was a catholic and said that pressure was put on him to leave the church and he thinks that had he done so he might have had the Tübingen chair. The interrogation was carried out without difficulty and once started he just carried on without interruption for 2 hours. He never asked any questions and gave us a detailed account of his work during the war.

May 6th

Decided to come straight back to Heidelberg and question him at our leisure and call up Carl and Jesse and Henry if they were still in Paris. Left them to go with K to pick up his stuff and we came on in a jeep. Took the autobahn nearly to Augsburg and it was in good shape. Augsburg is moderately damaged and then back on the autobahn for a few miles and passed some jet planes parked in the trees. They had filled in the centre of the autobahn in two places as a runway. Did not examine the planes too closely in case they were booby trapped. Roads full all the way back and chiefly heavy road equipment. There is a nice valley from Ulm to Stuttgart which had a number of mills etc in it. There were many civilians about and we had the impression that their attitude had changed considerably. The children were waving and they were shouting for chocolate. At one point they actually threw a bunch of flowers into the car. We wondered whether this was the result of some specific recommendations made at church on relations after the surrender. Arrived back in early afternoon and K and car followed a little later. He was put in the basement and his food brought to him. Saw Goudshmit.

7th May

Further interrogation with Kliewe with Baumann filling in the gaps. He is remembering more and more. His statements are carefully made and he never contradicts himself. Got message to say that Jesse, Henry and Carl are coming up tomorrow. Start drafting the report.

8-11th May

The others arrive on 8th and have a violent VE night party with disastrous ending as far as I am concerned. The remaining time is spent with periodic interrogations and drafting the report and getting K to write his own account of his experiments and intelligence etc. Plan that Jesse and Carl shall go south to try to pick up the train with his and the Surgeon General's office documents which K said was going to Austria. Carl will be able to see his people in Innsbruck and Jesse to look for his ancestors. They leave on 11th and I plan to go back to Paris and see if there is any more data on the train and documents at Shaefer and also look into PW situation and then to go back to London and see if this report is considered enough by those on BWIC. It is agreed that I will be sent for if anything turns up and to prepare a final statement of BW for the Alsos people. Bill and Henry to stay in Heidelberg and to try to get train from the other end if Jesse and Carl are not successful.

12th May

Pack up in morning and leave with one officer and a sgt in a command car about 1.30. Drive hard to Verdun through Frankenthal, Kaiserslautern and Saarebrücken and Metz. There is a fine run up the valley from Kaiserslautern with the road strewn with burnt German vehicles for many miles. Saarebrücken is badly smashed in parts and likewise Metz. Had a dinner at Verdun and drove hard to Paris making it by 11.20. The French towns and villages are gay with flags and realise



Jun  
Ce  
th  
co  
ab  
fr  
re

this is VE day celebrations. At Alsos find nothing done to help in getting billets and have to argue with Monceau to get a room. Take Ryans complaint about no one bringing them anything from the front as pretty good cheek since they do damn all for us coming back.

13th May

Go out to Shaef and find they have no dat on SGOs documents and are grateful for the information about the train. Go to E&E section about PWs and hear that Wolfgang Wirth is coming to Paris from Cherbourg for us to interrogate. No other data on other personalities.

Call for Fergie and find he has gone out for rest of the day. Spend the afternoon at office and then back to Monceau and have a walk. Already the place is deadly boring and no one to talk to.

14th May

Go to E&E division and look through lists of Pws which are only from 7th Army. It is a mixed list and has civilians. Only Rostock among the medical characters. Get out a revised list for ourselves excluding those we no longer want. Read Carl's report on Haagen which he claims shows he did not do anything really abnormal on these prisoners. No attempt to get the names of his assistants to check these statements. Haagen is a broken man. Little to do here and life is dull. Eckmann is cordial but hopeless as a colleague. Bates is busy preparing to set off for home. Get my liquor ration and have Fergie round in the evening and then do a flick. 'Goodbye Mr Chips'. Surprised to see Repton again and think it a rotten film. Apparently the French are getting a sample of all the films they missed during the occupation. Fergie has amusing stories about life in Paris during VE week for there were three days of continuous parties. The French have least to celebrate and most time and money to waste doing it.

15th May

Fix up passage home for tomorrow by RAF. Eckmann seems surprised when I tell him though I've done so several times before. Go down to see Wirth at Caserne Mortier - the Paris military prison. He is the wrong man though the name is right and he is a chemist. Also see Bauer has an interesting story of German medical experiences in S Russia and the origin of the Microbiology section of the MMA. See Goudshmit and tell him I am going and he says he expects me back.

16th May

Before leaving go to Villa Montmorency and see Cecil who is about to go on a long trip into Germany on various matters. He says he will cover Pottenstein if possible, as he has heard that Krebsforschung is a cover name for CW. This was from Oosenberg. Leave Paris at 3.15 and get into London at 4.30 and catch 7.35 to Salisbury.

17th May

Find no one in Bio S and W-J is not in either so go off to Oxford as it is Bank Holiday.

22nd May

See W-J in London and he agrees that the story is OK and I tell him of the possibility of my going back to write the summary and if anything else turns up. Go back to Porton.

23rd May See Fildes and learn that he and his party are due to go to the Lister on Aug 1st though everyone seems to think it doubtful if the place will be ready by then. Woods due to go to Oxford at same time.



June

26th May

W-J rings up to say that Mrosowsky has come back with a story from Munster Lager which is similar but covers a bigger field than Kliewe's. Decide I should go over and M. to make arrangements with CIOS, M rings up in afternoon to say I will be going on Monday morning.

27th May Up to London and lunch with M at his club. See his report which includes a more general picture and is from Hirsch the head of the "affenamt. This confirms the suspicions we had that Kliewe might if anything be exaggerating the importance of the position he had held. Ring Paris and surprised to hear that all is finished and Bill due to go back to States in a day or two. Says he will await my arrival. Henry due home to-morrow. Have supper with Potter and put up at Nuffield club.

28th May

Get away by ATC at 11.30 and get to office in Paris about 2.30 Find Jesse and Bill there, Henry having gone this morning. They had had a few of the important documents copied and he had taken them over. I gather from Jesse that my remarks in a letter I left Henry were responsible for my not being called. Carl is in field so may not see him. Jesse thinks they will not alter their plans but Bill reads report and soon decides to stay on and follow this up. Jesse to continue home with documents and arrange for copies etc to England. Get a chilly welcome from Eckmann who says I am no longer Alsos and no accommodation at Royal Monceau. Get a billet under Etoussa by using ~~xxxx~~ old orders. Dinner with Bill and ~~xxxx~~ see an Ensa play by E.M. Delafield 'as we see ourselves', Fair.

29th May

Scan through Kliewe's file and see that most of the data from Hirsch report is there but he has just not told us about it. Also many references to Blome whom he has not mentioned. Blome is also in RFR files as leader of Krebsforschung. Jesse packing up and Bill writing to see the documents are handled properly. I write a note to Stamp asking him to see copies go to London and send a copy to W-J. Also write to Henderson explaining as much of the Porton situation as possible and advising him to get home. Eat again with Bill and Jesse and I go with him to poor music hall show.

30th May

Go to Versailles and see T section and they agree all is well if Alsos will look after me. Go with Bill to Villa Montmorency and hear that Cecil has not returned and they have a report that he has been arrested twice! Return in afternoon to hear we are going to Heidelberg by car first thing in the morning. Bill out sheep breeding. Jesse and I visit the Follies. Quite interesting to see once but best part of the show is the men!

31st May

Leave at 8.00 after going to office and picking up material. One colonel in Air corps and a civilian with driver in Cand R and trailer. Drive like hell over the usual road and a cold miserable ride most of the way. Get in about 7.00

1st-3rd June

Sit around at Heidelberg with periodic interviews with Kliewe who fills in most of the gaps and the perusal of his documents was valuable in giving some leads. He seems less willing to talk of others. This may be dislike of discussing personalities or or mentioning others in connection with what he wants us to regard as his field. He gets going after a time and in nearly every case where two departments come across each others path it is a tale of trouble and quarrels. The path of the rulers of Germany was far from smooth with so many unruly followers.



4th June.

Go to Wiesbaden to clear with 12th AG T force to go to Pottenstein. There are many new regulations calculated to slow down everyones movements and give the office boys plenty to do. Decide to do this all in the proper way and are told we must report to corps HQ in the area and then we can go straight on. To exploit targets of opportunity, we just request local corps for information. All seems to be straight forward. Lunch at casual mess which is disgustingly grandiose with a five man band. There must be plenty of work to be done if the Germans could be put to it. The town is partly smashed up apparently as a result of an accident. The air forces were told to spare it as a future HQ but one day a squadron failing to find its proper target unloaded over this place. Went back through Frankfurt and toured the old part of the town which is unrecognisable. Only the spire of the cathedral remains.

Forgot to mention a party one night when they got up a few girls from the PX and had a dance in the mess. They were all kinds of nationalities from the Baltic states. All came to Germany within the last year and are anti-Russian. No one seemed to know what their position was and they had apparently freely made the choice between the Nazis and our allies so if there was true cooperation there should be no hesitation in sending them back or leaving them here and treating them as Germans. The problem of fraternisation is getting serious as the light summer dresses adorn the blonde Aryans! As part of a policy that involved all it might be easy to enforce but there is doubtless plenty in the higher circles to arrange that a traditional Germany emerges at least in the British and American zone. There is a tendency as Bill says to talk about the Russians as if they were our enemies. Certainly they are behaving very differently in Germany than we are and obviously take a realistic view. The Germans are pliable as history shows and will no doubt take to communism as rabidly as they did to Hitler if it is presented in the right way. They have had one disastrous taste of capitalism and are likely to be less keen on that especially if they see the old gang dressed up as friends of their conquerors. The strings tying any German communist regime to Russia will be invisible to the ordinary man though doubtless significant enough to the German 'rulers'.

5th June

Ham returns from Paris and we get the decision made that we can have Fiebig as interpreter. Plan to go to Pottenstein tomorrow.

6th June

Set off at 8.30 with jeep and trailer and a driver. Go through Wurzburg which still looks one of the most destroyed towns I have seen. Then on to Erlangen which is a very pleasant city and must be a nice university in which to study. At corps we are told we have to report to 3rd Army which is at Munich. Decide to go to Pottenstein and if there is anything to exploit go down to Munich through proper channels. A most picturesque drive up a lime stone valley to Streitberg and Pottenstein. Here we see the mayor and then the chief of police. He is a fat bellied man who states he was in hiding in the Gestapo's chief's house for a few weeks before the fall and knew where all the stuff was stored in the caves. This is a most unlikely tale and more likely he is a Nazi. He says that this was planned as a stronghold for Himmler and they had the SS records here which have been taken care of. This might account for any tale of things evacuated here. The only other material is from learned societies dealing with cave exploration and certain Italian documents. We decide the clue is not worth closer study and in view of our unofficial position here decide to get back to Heidelberg. Return through Nurnberg which seems to be completely smashed inside the city wall which the main road skirts. A very hot day and finally hit H. at 9.00.



126  
le a  
Ger  
voy  
y le  
om St  
sults  
ld t  
7th June

Spend the day doing more or less nothing at Heidelberg. Make arrangements to go up to Munster Lager and Kiel tomorrow after Ham has arranged that Fiebig shall accompany us as an interpreter. Fiebig does not want to go and does not hide his feelings. I suggest to Bill that it would be better that we go alone or wait for Woolley rather than take an unwilling companion. Bill seems to think it is just an old army custom and when on the way he will be all right. Go out bathing in the afternoon in a fine pool a few miles away up a wooded valley. The Germans certainly had many comforts and new how to build nice things. This valley is filled with hospitals and next to the baths is a sanatorium for wealthy TB patients and is said to take German film stars etc.

8th June

Set off for Goettingen in drizzle after lunch with Fiebig and Sgt Brown one of his men. A cold dull ride up the autobahn most of the way except for Frankfurt and one diversion near Goettingen where an enormous viaduct has been completely blown. Fiebig makes no attempt to conceal his feelings that his only ambition is to get back to H. as soon as possible. Brown is clad in the dirtiest dungarees and a German camouflage suit presumably part of the technique of impressing the British he doesn't care!

Arrive at Goettingen and find it full but get a good bed and a meal. The British are taking over this area and are just moving in. The Alsos office hopes to draw rations etc from the American units holding the corridor to Bremen. Blake points out that the 21AG T Force are very easy to work with and we need not go to HQ but just report to the T Force at Winsen near Luneburg. Blake is a very pleasant fellow and by far the nicest of the administrative officers in Alsos. This may be because he seems far more at pains to say pleasant things about his allies than the rest!

9th June

Leave Goettingen about 9.00 and go up through Elze to Hanover. The town is quiet and previous impressions of extensive damage are confirmed. Take a few photographs and then push on to Celle. This town is crowded with troops and seems to be an RAF HQ. Incidentally the bulk of the traffic on the roads seems to be RAF. Go up through Uelzen to Luneburg through rather desolate flat wooded country and then on to Winsen where we have lunch and sign in. They are off to the Hartz mountains tomorrow and the next T Force will be at Hamburg. Go on to Munster Lager and get there about 4 o'clock. There is a comfortable mess there and the first person we see is Shaw. He gets us fixed up and we have tea and meet Maj Earl the TO for 2nd Army who is now in charge of the place. Mills has left much to everyone's relief. Also there is Edelstone who is in CDR5. Have supper and see Jack Hetherington, Bellingham Smith, ~~Sinclair~~ Bardshaw and Oswald as well as Harrison and Gear. The A\*G lab is apparently a permanent fixture here. Earl is a very decent fellow and an ideal head of the place. Cullumbine left last week but is expected back any day. Hirsch is available any time we want him. He talks freely and is writing a full account of all the work done at the place. Go to an all male ENSA show in Munster. It was singing and music and was very good but felt an effort might have been made to provide something in a skirt. The theatre is the German garrison theatre and they are apparently putting on shows for the German civilians acrobatics filmed etc. They did show the Belsen film. After the show went with Earl and Bradshaw and saw one of the filling plants. They had huge dumps of gas here and did most of their own filling. The presence of these dumps led to a restraint on our part of artillery and bombing before the place was taken so progress was slow. It also prevented the Germans doing too much demolition. They made two attempts but in each case the damage was more extensive than they had anticipated and they gave up further attempts. There seem to be Bradley Birt in all CW establishments! Spent a comfortable night.

10th June.

After breakfast arrange to see Hirsch after going over a list of questions to put to him. It is clear that the order of the day is hustle and get out. This is in sharp contradiction to the attitude of Bill in Heidelberg where he is content to sit around all day doing damn all and casting loving eyes at the oversexed waitress! However the interrogation goes well and Hirsch speaks slowly and clearly so that one can understand almost all of what he says especially as he sticks pretty closely to the text of what he said to Mrosowsky. He said he had given this information to Mills but enquiry afterwards suggests that Mills did not question him on this matter though he had a habit of holding long sessions with Hirsch and taking copious notes but telling others very little about it afterwards. Hirsch is obviously speaking the truth and really does not know very much about the work of others in the field. It is extraordinary



that he should not have known that one of his own colleagues, Klieve, was actually at Le Bouchet in 1940. The discrepancies in his report and that of Klieve can be explained by natural failures of human memory and the fact that each kept the other in as complete ignorance as possible over their activities

After lunch Bill suggests that we requestion him again on points arising out of this morning's interrogation and then we will be free to go off tomorrow. Such activity is obviously related to Fiebig's belly aching which in fact became literal towards the close of the day. There is nothing to do but bow before the storm as I am beholden to them for all material facilities and begin to wish now I had acted on the original suggestion and come directly over here and let Alsos come up if they wanted. This would be a pleasant place to spend a couple of quiet days and get some dope on the general CW picture and the whole aspect of these men's work. However we finish our interrogation and all seems clear.

In the mess Fiebig makes no attempt to talk and one time he deliberately moved his chair away when someone came up to start a conversation. He must be somewhat anti British like a good many of these pseudo Americans. Have a general chat in the mess in the evening and there is much criticism of the whole plan of the work to be done out here which will result in many people from the W.O. taking an occasional trip out for a change and little of real value will be done. It seems very doubtful whether the program can be completed within the 3 months specified.

11th June.

Get away about 9.00 and call at counter intelligence at Luneberg to ask about Blome and Conti. Find that Conti is in the Ashcan at Luxembourg, Nothing is known about Blome but enquiries are to be made for us from 21 AG.. Go on to Hamburg and have lunch at T force which is just getting organised in Herman Goering House which was a Luftwaffe school for youths. It is in one of the fashionable quarters where there is little damage. See the town after lunch and there are areas of complete devastation with weeds growing over the rubble and other parts are little touched. It is far too big a city to view in a short drive but the docks we saw were in quite good shape. There is an enormous modern brick building untouched titled the Deutsches Sicherheits Ring. This organisation is unknown to any of us. Go on out to Kiel through flat agricultural country like Denmark and having a prosperous air. There is much military traffic and surprisingly a number of good cars being driven by German officers. At one small town a few miles from Kiel, there is a fine example of localised and intensive bombing. There is a large station and goods yard completely devastated with but little damage in the town itself. Even so there were trains puffing through. Kiel is extremely badly damaged but T force are in a factory near Hagenüks which is almost untouched. They cannot put us up so we see Hagenuk and find the Injektor Saug Gerate is a gas sampler for field trial work based on the injector principle. They saw none have been made during the war and the man who dealt with supplies to scientists will not be back till the morning. We go to the Town major who is a hopeless ass and says he cannot put us up as he had 20 people in the other day. Apparently they only have one hotel and make no attempt to find more accommodation. We decide to return to Luneberg. It is a little irritating to see notices about officers yacht clubs and tennis clubs freshly painted and adorning the walls in this devastated town and no accommodation for those who might want to work here. The British games instinct carried slightly to excess! Have a meal on the road side and get in to Luneburg by 10 o'clock and offered tea and sandwiches. Plans to get back to Goettingen tomorrow after visiting Bad Oeynerhausen to see 21 AG.



Leave Raubkamm shortly after 9.00 and return to Bad Oyenshausen via Celle and the autobahn. There is a big detour just short of our destination where the Germans blew up a series of bridges over gullies. There is some delay over a stopped convoy which produces some critical remarks from Fiebig. The situation causes considerably less delay than that resulting from American traffic jams on our way to Heidelberg from Strasbourg where the American technique of pushing ahead had no good long term results. Report to Ignatieff's office after all the officers have gone to lunch and are told that there is no mess for visitors below the rank of colonel. After getting the driver into the M.I. room for a piece in his eye have a Kration meal outside the chief of staff mess in a street in B.O. See Ignatieff and sign out and hand in our passes. He has a report on an interrogation of a Prof Habs from Hamburg who claims to have heard of a few BW sabotage stories against the Germans and is sure that some active defense steps were taken against BW. We decide that his data is not worth a return journey. Go on about 3 o'clock and get to Goettingen just before supper.

The place is less full than before and we get a bed. The majority go out after supper as there are some Dutch girls nearby who are awaiting repatriation. They are not all keen to go and wish to stay where there is plenty of American food etc. Food and sexual indulgence seem to be on about the same level of priority in the American army. It is possibly the same only less patent in the English but I feel the officers in the latter have on the whole a more civilised outlook.

June 13th

Leave Goettingen about 9.15 and have a cold dull drive down the autobahn to Frankfurt and eat a K ration just before getting there. It was cold enough to make an impromptu fire very welcome. Saw Shaefer documents section and they had no data on the W/Wiss documents. They are housed in an undamaged factory of I.G. on the edge of the city. Shaefer is in the magnificent offices of the I.G. in Frankfurt. This had been slightly damaged but is a most imposing building. ~~with extremely noisy machinery~~ Got back to Heidelberg about 4.00 and spirits rising all the way. Spend a quiet evening with all the next few days for report writing.

June 14th.

Quiet day report writing with Bill making his usual active contributions!

June 15th.

Much warmer and finished draft report on Kliewe and Hirsch interrogations. Bathed in afternoon which was very pleasant. Glad to find the pain in the ribs had more or less gone now two weeks after the receipt of a hard German head from the bicycle accident. In the evening Hamm returned from Goettingen and after a visit to 21 AG. He had a report from Ignatieff that Mrugowsky had been interrogated in a SS PW camp near Hanover and had made some remarks about BW. Decide to go up there on Sunday. There was a party tonight with the PX girls for which I did not feel the slightest inclination. These voluntary Nazis seem to be to deserve much less attention than the majority of the Germans who may have had much less choice than these birds. However it forms a useful and permitted outlet for the almost uncontrollable sexual appetites of the Americans and can do little harm as few speak the lingo.

June 16th

Type out reports and have a talk with Kliewe which was quite interesting. He said that in 1933 with so many unemployed many decided to give the Nazis a trial and the in a year's time there were virtually no unemployed and everyone was very impressed. This initial enthusiasm gave them time to get their secret police system and other special methods of control properly organised and then when the people realised what was in the wind, namely war, it was too late to resist. At this stage Hitler had many friends in other countries and his support was consequently greater. These outside supporters were not even as altruistic as the Germans. They liked him because he was keeping labour in order by abolishing the trade unions and not because he had solved the unemployment problem of which they were naturally a little jealous. He mentioned all the contributions made by rich and relatively poor alike to the Volkswagen which never materialised. We asked him about the leading bacteriologists in Germany and he named Kisskalt first. There would seem to be no really dominating figure. Gildemeister and his assistant at the Robert Koch were good. There were a few including Stickl who had been members of the Party before 1933 but kept it quiet

will s



22  
during the years before the Nazis came to power. Kliewe said that he and his wife were in Heidelberg with the Stickls and met many times ~~in~~ in the evenings together and yet he had no idea Stickl was a party man until after 1933 when Stickl and others like him suddenly started to wave their party badges and their success started from that time. Kliewe said that any man who was in a position that he had to order others about was bound to become a party member. Played bridge for the first time for some weeks.

June 17th Sunday.

Left Heidelberg at about 8.00 with Bill and Uhlig in a C&R. Fine but cold for the earlier part of the drive. Called in at Frankfurt and were told that Conti was not in Ashcan and no one knew where he was. Went on the autobahn to Kassel at one time did 90 kilometres in one hour. Turned off at Kassel and went thro the town which is very heavily damaged and the buildings smashed and not just wrecked. A poor rough road to Paderborn thro pleasant rolling country. Paderborn is very badly damaged and full of Russian DPs. The striking feature of the fine Sunday afternoon was the number of brightly dressed girls walking about among the DPs and obviously asking for trouble. Got to Bad Oeyenhausen at 16.15 and had tea with Ignatieff and got data on Prof Habs of Hamburg and got new passes. Tried to find out about Conti from GIB but no one knew where he was and suggested going to corps. Went off at about 18.15 and went to Hanover via autobahn and then up thro Celle to Raubkammer. There were still most of the old crowd there and no new arrivals. Cullumbine there after a nasty smash on the way up when his truck overturned and caught fire on the autobahn. Apparently due to oil on a wet road. He is quite well again. Had a talk with H!C! in the evening and he says he is leaving the army as soon as possible and has hopes of a job with Gaddum. He seems to have lost any interest in staying at Porton and this may have something to do with the fact that the job at Phys S is to be offered to Edson first. Actually there will be no one there but ~~fairly~~ Fairley in a few months. Said that the Porton party were not nearly ready and that CSP had told Notley to come out with breeches and spurs to impress the Germans and that if there was any fraternisation he was to pack up immediately and bring them all back. This emphasis on the non-essential seems to be the hall mark of the present preparations for this work. They have no German guns and no German aircraft or maintenance crew.

June 18th

See Cullumbine and learn that Kruse does not own the BW lecture notes which almost certainly were part of a course for MOs. He also has some data from an internee dr who was at Buchenwald, then Natzweiler and then Belsen. C. saw him and he described some expts on men with phosgene and mustard.

Set off for Nienburg to 30th Corps. Have to go a long route via Soltau and Verden to cross the Weser. The roads here are narrow and rough with the half pavé construction and progress is slow. Got to Nienburg at lunch and find corps is not yet fully installed. There is the GIB. Try to get lunch without success. There is a smart officers club but not serving meals. They certainly put officers comfort high on priorities in the British army. See GIB and he says that it is best to go to 8th corps at Plön as they will know exactly where Conti is. Recommends the trip as well worth taking.

Go on to Fallingb. where there is a SS POW camp. This in charge of a major in the Pioneer corps. They took over and are clearing the place up. The camp was for RAF & RAAF prisoners and interested to see the Air ministry are sending men back to collect personal possessions and escape plans etc that were left behind. These are difficult to find as the Russians were in the camp for a week and made a complete desert of the place. There are 7,000 men here of whom half are Latvians and representatives of every other European race except English. There are 700 officers who are made to work. Noticed a full reproduction of the Geneva convention in English pinned in the office and was told that this found there on arrival.

The men are tamed but the officers fear the Germans and Latvians will s



soon be fighting. There have been three men wounded by sentries shooting when they overstep the lone near the fence. The major was in a Pioneer road and bridge building company who were on the banks of the Rhine before any other troops the night before the crossing laying tracks with a few tanks near by to attract the enemy fire from them.

Mrugowsky is the senior medical officer among the PWs and we see him. He is quite willing to talk but is difficult to understand as his pronunciation is so bad. He tells us about the request from Grawitz in 1939 and since then he has heard nothing official about BW. He suspected Blome but had no information and thought his work only theoretical. This may have been an attempt to defend his subordinate Gross who was sent to work for Blome at the order of Himmler. It is clear that later the SS must have taken a very active interest in BW work but whether anything got done is not definite. At one point M went off into a long dissertation on the work his set-up did for the Conc camp hygiene and tried to say that they had immunised all the prisoners as soon as an outbreak of typhus occurred. They may have tried but obviously his small organisation was quite incapable of handling the Waffen SS and all these camps as well. He emphasised how well his organisation worked with the HSI and claims that the tetra vaccine was introduced by the SS and adopted all over the forces. This was a rotten vaccine apparently from Haagen's reports.

Returned to Raubkammar. General talk in the evening and they are having trouble with their staff and getting rid of the legacy of Mills. He seems to have exceeded all bounds in his treatment of these Germans more as dear friends than enemies. This had shocked all who came here. The Germans are still startled when some learn that they are not still in charge of the little groups they used to run here.

June 19th.

Spent the morning touring the ranges with HIC! and a party from Winterbourne. These are presumably the first of the sight seers. The Porton people are apparently trying to fix up a service between Boscombe and Raubkammar ostensibly to bring out urgent stores but possibly also to bring out people who have decided they would like to see certain trials. Those out here are hoping that the authorities will step on this joy riding. The ranges here are well laid out and they have two enormous bursting chambers. The completed one is 36,000 cu metres with three ridiculous little fans in the roof for mixing. They used this a lot and admitted that the results meant nothing. Yet they had just built another of about 50,000 cu mtrs not yet complete. This seems to be typical of so much of the inefficiency of the Germans in research. The trial grounds were very well equipped with sampling points and OPs etc. They also had circular railways and special little trains with samplers on for some trial points. Though these seem quite good in theory they never used them. The trial grounds had been smashed up towards the end because the Nebel troops (flame and rocket throwers) were exercising over the area for half of every day. The curious feature is that with all this lay out of intelligence had not located this place but put it at Munster Lager a few miles away and T force actually set out to seize the wrong targets.

Return to Fallingbistel in the afternoon and question Mrugowsky a little more but get nothing from him. He emphasises that Honesty is the best policy and that he is telling us all he knows. This may be true.

Go on to Belsen to try and see the dr with details of Natzweiler work. The prisoners are now in the Panzer troop school - the usual well built and well laid out army buildings. There are thousands of women of all kinds and many men too. The place is now out of bounds for there were apparently units that were sending their men down in the evenings by truck for 'recreation' might perhaps be better put as "Procreation". The women are in all sorts of physical shape. They were brightly dressed in cotton clothes and the place looked bright and clean. They said the people on the whole were not well behaved and generally dishonest and some little removed from animals in their behaviour. The dr had gone - after 10 years in a conc camp he had apparently found somewhere to go.



Returned to Raubkammar. A party of Canadians had arrived and are to spend a couple of days here. There is Maas the Canadian CCDD and Col Sawyer.

June 20th

Leave at 9.00 and go via Soltau to Hamburg on the autobahn now repaired. Go round the city and get to Lubeck on the autobahn. Turn off at the end before entering the city and turn north to Prön. This is a nice little town set among a number of small lakes in pleasant wooded country and obviously a pleasant place to live. Find the GIB who take us to lunch in their fine house taken over with a number of foreign servant girls! Lunch in the best style with wine etc. After lunch get data on Conti's whereabouts and set off to Neumunster where he may be. A pleasant country road with high hedges like the Midlands and not too much traffic. At one point we are passed by an army Volkswagon full of German officers tearing along. A few miles further on while they are still in sight another German car sticks out suddenly into the road. The volkswagon disappears in a cloud of dust and a wheel flies off. When the dust settles there is nothing to be seen and as we drive up the car is seen in the hedge. All four men climb out and the others are uninjured so we leave them to help themselves. A typical example of the bad driving of these people. Get to Neumunster to find there are no prisoners yet in the camp which is having very elaborate fences put up round it and is in a factory. They say the men are coming up from Hamburg tomorrow and there is the commandant of the Hamburg camp there. He offers to lead us back to the Hamburg camp where we can see Conti. Follow him back through Hamburg to the west where there is an enormous military building used as a prison for these SS men chiefly civilian. We see Conti without difficulty and have a short interview with him. He seems to be thoroughly scared but answers what he knows which is very little. He claims to admire Blome but says that they could not work together. He only heard rumours of his connections with BW and when he asked him directly Blome refused to say anything. Conti was once asked about civilian precautions but apparently said that he didn't believe the allies would use it and took no more steps in the matter. We are amused at the end when Conti asks us what he shall tell his companions when he gets back as they are sure to ask what he has been interrogated about. This illustrates very well the mentality of these people. Conti was obviously a man of no character who was probably an unpleasant bullying little rat when in power but now has no convictions left except the desire to save his own skin.

Return to T force in Hamburg and have supper. The place seems almost deserted. Go out to try to find Habs at the SS barracks. This is an enormous building on the usual lavish scale of German military buildings and an MO says there are 4,000 wounded Germans there. It is entirely in German hands. They find that Habs will be away for a few days as he is on his usual weekly tour of his area as hygiene consultant. Decide that the information he has is not of sufficient value to make an interview worth waiting for. Return again through the city to the autobahn. Hamburg is in a curious state with areas almost completely untouched and other areas as completely devastated as I have ever seen. Whole blocks are just piles of rubble and weeds on these indicate they are of some age. The streets are tidy showing that it had been well cleared. Here and there are some enormous concrete shelters built almost like mediaeval castles and some are surrounded with colonies of flimsy temporary dwellings. These were presumably for essential workers. There will never be any question of moving the position of such a large town so well situated and the work of reconstruction will be immense. The city which grew over hundreds of years must take a long time to rebuild even with modern methods. It was a very fine city too in spite of its age. Reach Raubkammar about 22.00. There we have a talk with Maas who remains sceptical that the Germans have done nothing on BW in a big way. He has no suggestions to make as to who or where the work might have been done. Though stimulating in some ways such an attitude if persisted in will mean that nothing negative will ever be convincing. The argument for holding this belief is the amount of work



the Germans did on CW and the fact that nothing was known about it until the capture of Raubkammar. If the installation had been in Russian territory they would still be completely ignorant about it all. This is very doubtful as there would certainly have been personnel available and ready to talk. This leads on to much anti-Russian talk. There seems to be a hopeless prejudice against the Russians and everyone full of tales of their lack of cooperation. This is sharp contrast to Eisenhowers statements that in the military field he has found them to be studiously correct and accurate in all their undertakings and easy to work with. Since there are no politicians in power anywhere in the big allies who are not hopelessly anti-Russian in their political outlook it is not surprising that they report lack of co-operation. The Russians could doubtless record the same view about the allies. The Americans are always asking why their government go on supporting the French who behave so badly towards all their allies. They cannot see that this is all in support of the anti communist regimes.

Co, Sawyer goes on to spend about an hour detailing all the fighting done by 21 AIG from D-day. There is no mention of the Americans which annoys Bill. It would be interesting to know just where the Germans did put their best divisions. The famous Patton advance is always hailed so much by the Americans completely to the exclusion of the bigger and faster one by the 2nd British army

June 21st

Leave at 9.30 and go to Hanover. There try to get details of Uhlig's family. The police office has an amazing number of records of everyone who was born or ever lived in the town. He gets details of one woman of the same name as his grandmother who was killed in an air raid. Try unsuccessfully to find a casual mess and eat a K ration. After lunch see Wagener to ask about foot and mouth vaccine as Mass said he was sure the British did not know much about it. Wagener gives us a summary in English and a few references. We ask him about the future and he says the food situation is all right at present but points out that the seed potatoes all come from east of the Elbe. He has been having a good deal to do with the MIG! and quotes them as saying there is little cooperation or communication with the Russians. He also refers to the failure of men he knows to 'escape' from the east- It never occurs to any one to assume that these men might have stayed. This attitude is obviously not helped by thoughtless or deliberately damaging remarks made by MG officers etc. He says that they hope to start teaching again in the winter and will rebuild the institute. He is now under the educational and not the agricultural section of MG.

Go on to Goettingen which is almost deserted. Have a long talk after supper with Bill and Blake. The latter has a very interesting article from an American paper by a leading public health officer in the ETO who has examined all the statistics for the occupation and shows that the infant mortality and death rates in France, Belgium and Holland rose in 1940 and then fell to below their 1939 value by 1944. This is given as evidence of the absence of real under nourishment. It says the food dropped by the RAF after the freeing of Holland was not used as there was no need for it. This seems almost incredible and does not tally with the simple account given by the sergeant in T force who went to the Hague.

June 22nd

Leave about 9.00 and go to Frankfurt. On way Uhlig tells some pretty nasty tales of the Goettingen outfit. They have girls in the place all day and night and the sleep in large numbers there. This non-fraternisation policy seems to be in complete abeyance in the US army and at Goettingen there are no American MPs who seem not to enforce it anyway. It is curious the completely uncivilised attitude that a man of Bill's intelligence takes of this sexual intercourse. Any time any place and anybody as often as you feel like it seems to be the outlook. I would be interested to know what the wives think or perhaps they just do



the same. That there men in all, lands that do it this way I am quite certain but to say that because it is a natura instinct then it is stupid to try and control it seems to me to be the abnegation of all attempts to civilise. It appears that the division that was in Göttingen before the British arrive send a man up every week to collect and deliver mail from the men and the german girls. One man said that the local German paper was actually printing the engagements of German girls to American soldiers.

Arrive at Frankfurt and see T section and go on to the Records section Here we learn the OKW records will be available in a few days and there are already some from Flensburg. There were a ton of these and 30 tons are coming up from the south. They have been sorted and will be available for inspection before being sent on for detailed study in Lodz etc. Saw there were a few medical ones in the Flensburg lot but chiefly Brandt's personal files. Was shown the order from Hitler to get ready the invasion of England for Sept 20th - 'S-day' ! The order for the invasion was of Russia was originally given in Dec 1940.

Meet Col Pash by chance outside Dustbin office where we had tried to find out about Blome. They said they were getting a line on him as he was urgently wanted by a number of people.

Return to Heidelberg and see Pash later on. He says he will suggest that I go over to Washington to help finish the report. The mission are well pleased with a letter of appreciation from London. The house is very full and there was a party on the usual lines for which I had no interest.

June 23rd

See Cerame's data on Blome and he is said to be at MFIU 5 at Augsburg. He had been picked up automatically by CIC because of the position he held. He had declined to fly further as he knew he would soon be caught. N data on his talkativeness. Get some information from Paris suggesting that the evacuation addresses of the Poseh institutes are in Thuringia and will be soon in Russian territory. Decide to go down to Augsburg as soon as possible and plan to go to Thuringia if Blome gives the information.

Have a final talk with Kliewe as he is due to be moved to Dustbin soon.

June 24th

Leave at 7.45 and get on to autobahn but when we try to leave it at a diversion at Karlsruhe we are held up by French MPs who are stopping all traffic. The reason given is that de Gaulle is expected in about 30 minutes. There is much chafing at this delay which seems quite unnecessary and not done by other much more important people. This is an attempt by the French to create an impression. The results are most unfortunate for allied relations. We wait for about one and a half hours and then start to try to find our way back on to the road. After many small detours and making use of the fact that some MPs allow one to go and others stop traffic finally make our way into the open road and are then soon pulled up by the vanguard of the actual cortege. There are about half a dozen cars and the one French officer who gives a salute does not look like de Gaulle but in every car there is some Arab dressed in flowing white robes. The purpose of the trip are not clear except to try to impress these oriental birds with French power. They are hardly likely to be taken in very much.

Proceed on most of the way on the autobahn which gives some of the finest views yet seen. It skirts Stuttgart and goes off into the well wooded hills and has been built regardless of expense with separate roadways planned for each side of a hill in one place though this is not yet completed-. The American engineers have done an excellent job repairing the broken bridges.

Cross the Danube near Ulm which is quite small and dirty green in colour. Pass two airfields using the road as the runway. The woods are lined with wrecked jet planes or those without their engines.

Get to Augsburg and are told that Blome is in the internee camp at Ludwigsberg just the other side of Stuttgart. Decide to go off and try to find him rather than go on to Munich. Get to Ludwigsberg about 6 o'clock and find that there are 4 new internee camps.



We go patientl round each of them and there is no trace of Blome in the records. The camps are all heavily guarded and full of sunburnt prisoners. They are to be sorted out but at present are all mixee up. Have a K ration and return to Heidelberg by a rough circuitous route through Heilbronn. This is French territory and there is no attempt to do any sort of decent engineering jobs on the roads. Ge in about 10.30 and have a wel come supper.

June 25th Monday

Spend the morning trying to ge data from 7th army on phone as to where Blome is. They plan fianlly to ring up and we decide to go to Munich and go on from there to the esact evacuation address given by Goudshmitt. Go down at good speed after leaving here about 14.00 and call at Augsburg at find Blome is in MFIU4 at Wiesbaden. Go on to Munich and find it almost deserted. Have a ~~xxx~~ meal well in keeping with the Muncih tradition and have a walk. The impression of sunshine and increased tidieness is the town was not so smashed up as at first impression. There are a number of public buildings in good shape but there is much more gutting and less complete destruction than in say Hambirg.

June 26th

Leave about 8.30 and go to 3rd Army HQ at Freising. Here we are handled very formally and given passes and have to make all Corps clearances etc. According to the Munch offices 3rd army are quite uncooperative and do not try to help intelligence missions. Apparently the Patton spirit pervades the whole organisation. We are dealt with quite and efficiently and there is even a special pass for all officers not in American uniform who are in the 3rd army area! We have to go on to Regensburg which is off the way but a pleasant country drive along fair but narrow roads and thro many small towns and villages in Bavarian c country. They are all neat and clean in great distinction to the French villages. The town of Landshut has one of the tallest church towers that I have seen. There is a curious oriental style about many of the church t designs, especially the towers, in the villages. The origin of this Byzantine strian would be interesting in this great stronghold of the orthodox church. Regensburg is another old walled town with a fine cathedral seen at a distance with good twin spires. The Danube flows here and is much bigger than at Ulm. Cleared thro corps and bget a pass from the Provost ma amrshall. While waiting the officer says their greatest problem among the PWs is some hundred thousand 'white Russian cossacks under their own general who naturally refuse to go back to Russia- It is curious to here these traitors referred to as 'white!;

Go on to Nurnberg throughmixee wooded and farm land crossing the autobahns and finding a big supply dump at the site of the stadium which is in a state of complete decay though some of the permanent stone part seems still quite fresh. All the seats etc have been removed and it is knee high in weeds. The approach from two sides at least is up roads about twice the wifth of the autobahn.

Return to the autobahn and find that Bill has left the map behind. Manage to get off the autobahn at the approximate place above Bayreuth which we only saw in the distance.



Turn off suddenly into completely remote country of woods and valleys and small villages. An occasional military post is all that one sees and the people are all busy in the fields getting in the hay which is the only crop. The woods are wonderfully well kept and neat and the valleys are steep sided and not very rocky. Find our way up a track to the village of Birnbaum and see the burgomaister. There is no Hitler strasse and he says he knows of nothin ever havong come into the village and only two new faces have come during the past year- one from Dresden and the other from Lublin. There is no village or farm named Bielen near here. We set off for the main road and have a flat tyre. We eat a K ration and mend the tyre and decide to make for Heidelberg and hope to ge in about 1.00 a.m. Get on the main road and go to Bamberg which is a fine town with many good 18th century buildings and it seems to be in tact The state of the bridges here indicates there was little fighting or orderly retreat. From there to Wurzburg is chiefly a very rough road and through a series of small towns many of them partl walled and all containing some fine buildings and seemingly free from modern house development. Go through Wurzburg and for the first time see a few shops and town buildings not destroyed but there are very few. Get home about 1.00 after a cold drive but make good time and without incident. The roads are very clear after the curfew at 21.30.

... to the city jail while in  
... the traditional jail. He was seen  
... in Blome and we are the first to interrogate  
... and appears to be willing to talk and try to be  
... a little bit and was in London in 1938 in  
... work. He was  
... position in an inter-  
... He said that Conti  
... still nominally held  
... These people seem  
... now she is  
... the world will go back  
... Blome met Proctor a  
... on his visit. He says his English  
... opportunity to use it in the last few  
... we have come to eat his about  
... on his bigger fields. He talks  
... the point especially when  
... of the Institute. He  
... responsibility to Hitler and  
... He tells us that  
... and it seems to have  
... and be misled by incom-  
... which the leaders themselves knew  
... asked him if he could spread influenza  
... a childlike faith in the value  
... contemptuous remarks about Conti es  
... the medical register should be burned  
... was a member of the party.  
... could tell you that but if  
... would know whether he was even a Dr.  
... and seems to have  
... obliterated by bonfires.

... given the order to destroy the  
...



June 27th.

Contact made with MFIU 4 and Blome is in Wiesbaden city jail and will be held for us tomorrow. Quiet day here writing and walk in afternoon. Dull weather.

June 28th.

Go to Wiesbaden via Mannheim, Ludwigshafen and along the banks of the Rhine to Mainz and then across. Ludwigshafen is only moderately damaged in contrast to Mannheim. The IG works stretch for several miles along the bank of the Rhine too far from the road to see properly. It must be an enormous plant and there are special colonies for the workers to live in. Beyond Frankenthal the road lies near the river and the country round is almost all vineyards all looking in very good condition. Passed thro Nierstein from which I assume the hock gets its name. The small towns are damaged in places but by no means totally destroyed. The edge of Mainz is heavily damaged and the bridges are all out but there are many new rail and road bridges. The problem is the stoppage of river traffic by these low army type bridges and already there is a new arched wooden bridge. The river traffic is all important in Germany and the Rhine, Main and Neckar are all full of barges at present stuck in the stretches between these bridges.

In Wiesbaden went to MFIU and were sent to the city jail which is a building much in keeping with the traditional jail. No one seems to have any real interest in Blome and we are the first to interrogate him.

He is brought in and appears to be willing to talk and try to be amiable. He speaks a little English and was in London in 1938 in connection with some congress on medical postgraduate work. He was the director of this in Germany and held some position in an international organisation for postgraduate studies. He said that Conti had dissolved his organisation in Germany but he still nominally held his position in the international organisation. These people seem to fail completely to realise the position of Germany now she is conquered and they cling to the belief that the world will go back to 1939. Maybe they are right and we are wrong. Blome met Proctor a and saw the Hammersmith hospital on his visit. He says his English is rusty as he has had no opportunity to use it in the last few years. He is surprised when we say what we have come to ask him about as he is obviously expecting questions on his bigger fields. He talks freely but has difficulty in sticking to the point especially when it comes to awkward questions about the purpose of the institute. He has no hesitation in tossing off the responsibility to Himmler and gives himself the position of the passive tool. He tells us that Himmler was interested in many medical fields and it seems to have been a failing of the Nazi leaders to dabble and be misled by incompetent exponents of sciences about which the leaders themselves knew little. The fact that Himmler asked him if he could spread influenza to delay the invasion indicates a childlike faith in the value of BW. Blome spits one or two contemptuous remarks about Conti especially his order that all the medical register should be burned because it states whether or not a man was a member of the party. As Blome said anyone of his colleagues could tell you that but if the register was burnt no one would know whether he was even a dr.

The rat Conti must have got into a panic and seems to have believed that all his misdeeds could be obliterated by bonfires.

It seems probable that he may have given the order to destroy the records of Schilling at Dachau.



During the interrogation on the problem under discussion Blome does a considerable amount of evading and finds explanations that do not ring true for his statement about experiments that would affect the course of the war. He complains about his assistant Gross who was slow. It is difficult to imagine anything very formidable coming from this combination of an untrained and idle assistant with a chief who knows no bacteriology and has never done any research. He did appear to know enough to tell Himmler that it might take 10 years to produce an effective BW weapon. Blome was nervous throughout the interrogation and one felt he was looking on the whole thing as a potentially criminal project.

Had lunch with the MFIU officers at a large house in Wiesbaden. After lunch a motley crew of officers, civilians and women came into the garden as we were leaving and we were told that these included some high ranking officers and some of the staff of the foreign office. It would seem that there is very different treatment for different prisoners.

Returned to Heidelberg after a second interview with Blome.

June 29th

Wrote up Blome interrogation and realised there were many gaps in the whole picture.

Went for a long walk in the afternoon in the woods over the hill. The place is a network of neatly marked paths and the woods are full of an assortment of people collecting wood and berries etc. They must walk considerable distances to collect sticks and fruit. There is the usual dance in the evening and Pash comes in later.

Spent the evening in the house with Kolby. He says there is no doubt that the US were evacuating the staff of Zeiss from Jena. It would be interesting to know whether the men got any choice in the matter of being taken from their homes. It is small wonder that we find little in the Russian areas.

Trip planned to see Geraberg and Goslar.

June 30th

Leave at 8.15 and go to Wurzburg along the usual route and then up to Meiningen along reasonable roads through country that is not very much destroyed. Beyond Meiningen get into the edge of Thüringa Wald which is not ~~xxx~~ so fine as it is on the east side but the country is very similar with steep wooded valley and a few hay fields along their bases. Geraberg was one of many small villages all very close together. The first MG policeman told us where the site of the institute was and also that Fr Blome was living in Arlesberg a contiguous village. The sun came out after a cold wet morning and we were able to examine the site and photograph it under reasonable conditions. There was very little completed. While we were examining the place a workman came up and spoke to Uhlig. He said the ground had all been declared out of bounds to the villagers and though they were told that it was to be an institute they did not believe this and thought it was to be a concentration camp. After seeing this we went to see Fr Blome and had a talk to her in her home. This is temporary wooden house from which she is now running a practice in the village with permission of MG. She is much younger than Blome and pleasant looking woman. She pretends to know nothing about the place or B's activities but she tells us



where Gross stored his equipment and where he lived. She believes the burgomeister has the plans for the institute. We visited the school with the senior teacher and find locked up in a top room a mixture of scientific equipment which is mostly radiographic photo material. There are the copies of a few journals and some glassware and also some cannisters and protective hoods and gowns such as are used by the army for their decontamination squads. There is nothing in the way of documents and it looks as if some apparatus had been removed though the man says we are the first troops to visit the school. It was probably taken by Gross. We visited the house where Gross had stayed in Heyda and it was that of the local party leader who was now under arrest. His wife was there and a very good mannered small daughter. She said Gross had lived in the one room with his female assistant and they had been forced to take him in and he had been there ~~xxx~~ five weeks. He had told her he was working in an institute to make vaccines. The impression was that she didn't like him much. She added that her husband was under arrest and that he had become the local party leader in spite of all their requests to him not to take it on. Typical talk! Left this place and made our way to Göttingen via very bad roads to Eisenach and then up better roads through Kreuzburg and Witzhausen. The former was almost totally destroyed probably by artillery fire since there were a few houses absolutely undamaged standing amid the most total ruin one can see. It was a very pleasant run up the valley with the usual well wooded hills and the occasional castle on the lower peaks.

Got to Göttingen about 22.30 and no one there.

#### July 1st Sunday

Left for Goslar at 9.30 and got there just after 11.00 after a dull ride along the edge of the Hartz mountains in threatening weather. Goslar seems to be on the edge of an iron mining centre and is a fine old world town that appears to be completely undamaged. We find the chemist Borschers and Bill and Uhlig interview him while I remained in the car and fraternised with a few small children. Had lunch at the CIO mess which was fair and saw the ubiquitous CAPT CW team leader. Returned to Göttingen in the rain by the same route in spite of suggestions to go back through the mountains. Göttingen is extremely dull and seems to be very ill-managed with every form of fraternisation according to Uhlig. The food is poor and much seems to be given away.

#### July 2nd

Leave 8.00 and go back to Geraberg via Eisenach and the autobahn to Arnstadt. After heavy rain most of the way and bitter cold we get a period of sunshine to re-explore the place. We see the burgomeister who has been placed there by MG and left the village in 1933. He shows us some correspondence from Welz the Polish contractor who was building the place. He is accused of leaving many unpaid accounts and also of ill-treating his employees. These he denies. He has no plans but tells us where the assistant architect is living. This man only had the plans of the exterior to construct the place and never saw the plans of the interior but says they were in the main office. He says he returned from 2 days break at Easter to find his colleagues burning all the plans. We reinterview Fr Blome who is quite willing to talk but clearly not going to give anything away



She qualified at Freiburg and wrote a thesis on Hodgkins but later says that she would not recognise an incubator if she saw one. She gives us more details about Gross whom she obviously had no use for. The builders and Gross and his assistants were quite happy to see things go very slowly along at Posen where they were comfortable and safe. Gross built some fortifications where he said he and his men would make the last stand against the advancing Russians but in the end he and his men left with the first. She said she had heard that after returning to his troops he was released to find his way back to his home in Austria. She didn't know whether he had taken his assistant but supposed not as his wife was at home! She says the new burgomeister is a communist. He must have been in France for the last 12 years. It would be interesting to know how many others like him have come back to their old haunts in positions of authority. There must be a few old scores to be paid off! She also tells of a hectic interview with the CIC who told her he was the US gestapo and accused her of knowing where her husband was. She had no idea who were the men who removed Gross's box.

Try to contact the CIC in Arnstadt but they left this morning. Nearly all the troops are pulling out and the roads are crowded with convoys including very mixed ones of MG transport. Back the way we came to a supper identical with that of the past two nights. Saw a portrait of Sgt Leonard which had been done that day by a German artist. This was a thin young man looking very much the part but Leonard said that he had been in the Tank corps for 4 years including the attempted relief of Stalingrad.

July 3rd

Returned to Heidelberg by the usual route in pouring rain most of the way. Heidelberg is very full and the e is to be a holiday tomorrow so everyone will be staying. Pash here and says he saw W-J who is now in Washington and will get the liaison officer to request my being given orders to go over there.

July 4th

This is a holiday and no work being done. There is baseball game in which I am asked to partake but in the end to not play. A party in the evening with a few drinks but very quiet.

End of diary.

Left Heidelberg in last week of July flew to Paris from Frankfurt. Stayed several days and returned on Sunday July 30th to London. Saw member of Liaison Committee in Paris & gave him some advice on life in cone camps & received evidence. V personally impressed by attitude of policy of the Comm.



No.

Ekaha-Schnellhefter

Fach-No. ....



Name: .....

Emil Böttcher & Co., Mannheim D 4, 7 · Das Haus für Bürobedarf · Fernruf 2 88 58-59

DIARY (PRIVATE)

GERMANY

WITH MAP SHOWING ROBBS TRAVERSE

Wohnort: .....

angefangen am: .....

beendet am: .....

No.

Name: .....

Wohnort: .....



14 Mar. Message from Moscow to the W/1 Civil has found that Brandt used to live in Cologne, Brandt is plan a visit to find out more about him and to give Adam a visit.

15 Mar. Message from W/1 to say that trip had been fixed and that Col Smith CBE had asked that Ferguson be included and that CBE would arrange for transport and billeting for him and wife.

16 Mar. As known by now in evening, Billings called at Mitchell's officers club. Message gives further details of German information which is that a Walter Brandt lived in Cologne at 404 Westphalstrasse in 1938. As was at one time an anthropologist. The Undersecretary said that all information about Brandt should be of value.

17 Mar. Saw Ambassador Besseling of Allied Control Commission in Berlin and give him some data on the possibility of a high effect attack of campfires. Point out the investigation of evidence of public health officers and that the collection and preservation of such evidence is almost impossible.

18 Mar. Arrived at 11.15 that we were leaving from Victoria by Boat Train at 5.15 and morning. Arrived at 11.15 and were told that we would be met at station by Berlin and taken to Versailles.

19 Mar. Spent evening in Versailles. Very much.

20 Mar. Left Versailles at 10.15 for Paris. Arrived at 11.15 and met Macfarland and three others and saw a director of I.G. recently captured. At 12.15 left Paris for Berlin on a very slow train running on a very narrow track and a very slow and expensive mail.

21 Mar. Arrived at Berlin at 1.15. No transport and the CBE had no idea how we could be accommodated. At 2.15 two taxis were arranged for a Mr Ferguson and a Mr Ferguson. There were no other claimants as we all got in and then to Versailles and then to Berlin through the office.

22 Mar. Reported to 3 divisions at Berlin to Capt Besseling. Told that orders will be ready at 12.15. No transport has been fixed by CBE. Adam went to about 8.15 in his eye and apparent CBE. Go into Paris and see Gropert and Heide and contact Besseling. He knew nothing about transport that arrived at station last night and said he could not get an billeting in Paris under CBE as we had CBE's orders. Brandt was transported from post until Adam and I get orders, otherwise he will be given a jump. Besseling said B's visit to Bonn and Cologne and find the only object of interest was the special fermentation tanks seen at Schmidt's works pending completion. They were for the Kalle Chemical works at Wiedebach and had been in order 3 years ago could not be wanted very urgently. He personnel were none and the Hygiene Institute were destroyed. The other interesting thing was the report of the secret telephone directory of the Wehrmacht in Berlin which showed Besseling's name in association with CBE section.

23 Mar. Besseling in Versailles with Bill and Carl and Ferguson and get orders and give a copy to better. Adam had an FE removed from eye which is better.

24 Mar. Adam and I go into Paris by train and meet Ferguson and see Besseling. He suggests that we stay here at Berlin if we want somewhere to stay. Very welcome invitation. At 2.15 meet lunch with Ferguson in casual office a mess lunch that transport is all right for the evening and arrange early start.

25 Mar. 8.30 Breakfast with Versailles by Ferguson and leave CBE at 9.15. A very pleasant journey up through France and down the Moselle valley. Things very dirty. Delays at a ferry in the river at one spot and also a flat tyre.

26 Mar. 11.15 Breakfast with Adam and find about HQ. Take there and provide excellent food and beds.

27 Mar. 9.00 Breakfast and re-arrange in Cologne at 11.30. The journey partly along autobahn and then off this thru a town in which there were not many houses standing. Some of the villages badly damaged and the almost in ruins. Cologne is a complete wreck with only a very occasional building very good or less in fact.

28 Mar. At 1.15 go through usual formalities and get a passport and find route to Schweinfurt works. Go along after lunch to the M.C. office and see the public health officer. He advises to see Prof Hagemann as the only bacteriologist he knows, and to see work supervisor of the Schweinfurt works' office and see a Capt Burns. Visit Schweinfurt works and see the tanks but can report nothing of interest. The works was under fire the previous night because of traffic movements and so

# DIARY OF VISITS TO GERMANY

MARCH - JULY

1945



- 13 Mar. Message from Mrosowsky to say that W/C Cecil has found that Brandt used to live in Cologne. Decide to plan a visit to find out more about him and to give Adam a trial trip.
- 14 Mar. Message from W.O. to say that trip had been fixed and that Col Scott CWS had asked that Ferguson be included and that CWS would arrange for transport and billets for Adam and self.
- 15 Mar. To London by car in morning. Billets fixed at Nuffield officers club. Mrosowsky gives further details of Cecils information which is that a Walter Brandt lived in Cologne at 180 Durenstrasse in 1938. He was at one time an anthropologist. See Wansborough Jones who says that all information about Brandt should be of value. Saw Brigadier Spedding of Allied Control Commission in Berlin and gave him some data on Bw possibilities as might affect armies of occupation. Point out the investigation of sabotage is a matter of public health officers and that its detection and prevention might be almost impossible. Notified by CIOS that we were leaving from Victoria by Boat Train at 8 a.m. next morning. Tickets collected from office and were told that we would be met at station at Paris and taken to Versailles. Spent evening in club quietly and Adam had a severe headache.
- 16 Mar. Left Victoria at 8 a.m. At 10.30 boarded 'Isle of Thanet' and met Mumford and three civilians on his party going over to see a director of I.C. recently captured. At 17.00 left Dieppe for Paris on a very slow train running on a very uneven track and had a poor and very expensive meal. Arrived at Paris at 22.15 to find there was no transport and the RTO had no idea how any could be arranged. About 15 mins later two taxis were announced for a Mr Barnes and a Mr Ferguson. There were no other claimants so we all got in and went to Versailles and found billets through the office.
- 17 Mar. Reported to T division at Shaef to Capt Llewellyn. Told that orders will be ready at 16.00 hours and transport has been fixed by CWS. Adam sees MO about t pain in his eye and apparent FB. Go into Paris and see Cromartie and Henze and contact Ferguson. He knew nothing about transport that arrived at station last night and said he could not get us billets in Paris under CWS as we had Shaef orders. Cannot fix transport from pool until Adam and I get orders, otherwise he will be given a jeep. Discuss Gand H's visit to Bonn and Cologne and find the only object of interest was the special fermentation tanks seen at Schmidding works nearing completion. They were for the Kalle Chemical works at Wiesbaden and had been on order 3 years so could not be wanted very urgently. No personnel were seen and two Hygiene institutes were destroyed. The other interesting item was the copy of the secret telephone directory of the Wehrmacht in Berlin which showed Kliewe's name in association with CW section. Return to Versailles with Bill and Carl and Ferguson and get orders and give a copy to latter. Adam had an FB removed from eye which is better.
- 18 Mar. Adam and I go into Paris by train and meet Ferguson and see Eckmann. He suggests that we use base at Aachen if we want somewhere to stay. Very welcome invitation. At 2.30 after lunch with Ferguson in casual office s mess learn that transport is all right for the morning and arrange early start.
- 19 Mar. 8.30 Collected from Versailles by Ferguson and leave CWS at 9.15. A very pleasant journey up through France and down the Meuse valley. Liege very dirty. Delayed by a lorry in the river at one spot and also a flat tire. 19.15 Reach Aachen and find Alsos HQ. Lake there and provides excellent meal and beds.
- 20 Mar. 9.00 leave Alsos and report in Cologne at 'T' Force Hq at 11.30. The journey partly along autobahn and then off this through Duren in which there does not appear to be a house standing. Some of the villages badly damaged ;others almost in tact. Cologne is a complete wreck with only a very occasional building even more or less in tact. At T force go through usual formalities and get a pass and find route to Schmidding works. Go along after lunch to the M.G office and see the public health officer. He advises to see Prof Hagemann as the only bacteriologist he knows, and to make more enquiries at the divisional surgeon's office and see a Capt Burns. Visit Schmidding works and see the tanks but can report nothing of interest. The works was under fire the previous night because of traffic movements and we



were asked to walk in and not drive. Get Hagemann's address from surgeon's office and find him in a partly wrecked house where he has his laboratory. He used to work at Cologne Hygiene Institute and published papers on fluorescent microscopy which we know of... He spoke very little English and information difficult to gather. He said that Mueller the director of the Institute was an invalid and living at a village outside Cologne and he didn't think he could give much information of interest. The institute was evacuated to Bad Godesberg and he knew Silter the director of the Bonn institute who was interested in TB therapy. He had never heard of Kiewe and said that Haag was head of Hygiene institute at Giessen which was destroyed 2-4 months ago. He had heard of the name Brandt in Cologne but did not know him at all. He said that Eichhoff the German surgeon at the Cologne hospital whom we were going to see was not a strong Nazi as he was put in charge of this big Catholic hospital.

Thought that this amateur laboratory in a broken house was not exactly ideal. Returned to hospital to see Eichhoff and were given a meal in the mess. Met Capt Burns who knew Eichhoff well and said that he never talked anything but medicine, he didn't know his political views. He has told them a bit about German medical developments. He says that Hagemann claims to be an anti-Nazi and says that he was in a concentration camp for a time and has never been in the Wehrmacht. Burns told us about the typhus in Cologne which was appearing at the rate of 200 cases a week when they came in with 80% death rate. There were only 8 new cases last week and there has been an extensive policy of dusting the bunkers and the civilians. The German MOs are being co-opted and doing well. Left at 19.15 as Eichhoff not yet back and arrange to have him stay for us in the morning.

- Return to quarters in the floor in a flat on edge of city next to T force.
- 21 Mar. 8.00 See Eichhoff at hospital. He speaks fair English and his daughter was over there with friends just before the war. He qualified in Breslau and went to Munster and came to Cologne 12 years ago and is not connected with the University. Says that von Haberer lives across the river and he was not popular as he was an aggressive and unpleasant man. In 1939 Eichhoff was in charge of a 1000 bed military hospital in Cologne. After the bombing started in 1941 this was evacuated and he was sent as consulting surgeon to an army in Russia (North). He spent his time touring hospitals and giving the surgeons instruction. In 1943 had severe tonsillitis and followed by arthritis and was invalided out and came back in charge of this civilian hospital in Cologne.
- He said he had heard of Morell but knew nothing about him except that he was a nonentity. He had never heard of a Walter Brandt in Cologne but knew Prof G Brandt of the Fuhrer's HQ. He was young man who had been an assistant of Maus in Munich but had never published anything of importance. His present job was acting as liaison between civilian and military administration. He did not know if he had any special fields of interest but he would have access to every field of medicine. He had once met him when he came to Cologne on Hitler's order to see Keitel's son who was a patient.
- Eichhoff knew Wolfgang Wirth who was a good character and of great ability as a scientist. He was nephew of Leopold who was a great friend of Eichhoff. He knew he had been working on CW in Berlin since 1939 but his work was secret and he had seen no publications from Wirth. He had never heard of Kiewe.
- Handloser was an old soldier of the best type and very helpful to his juniors and was not a Nazi. His position must be very difficult. The Military Med Academy in Berlin was now under Gunderloch who was a medical specialist. He said he had had little contact with Berlin recently as letters might take up to 4 months on the way. Asked about Strasbourg he said it was notoriously a Nazi stronghold and more so than other German universities. He did not know Bickenbach.

11.30 Arrived at Bonn after getting a permit from 1st Army HQ at Euskirchen. This town pretty well destroyed but the country round looked well cared for and prosperous. There was good deal of traffic on the roads and went by bye roads. Bonn is destroyed in patches but not nearly so extensively as Cologne. There was one of these concrete bunkers about 4 storeys high with tiny slit windows standing in the centre of the town. The city offices were in tact and we saw the M.G. The health officer had met a number of German medicals including the prof of Pathology, Ceelen. He referred us to an address where we might find them but the place was completely destroyed. No one including a native of the city had ever heard of any new tunnels being built in the centre of the city.



We visited the Animal Physiology Institute which was partly destroyed and were taken round by the caretaker. There had been no work done for a year. There was a metabolism unit with a Benedict calorimeter for two sheep and metabolism pens for the animals. The old professor had been to America and actually Benedict had visited this institute. No bacteriological work had been done here. We left with a feeling of depression to see this centre of pure academic research in such derelict shape.

Went to the Animal Hygiene Lab near the river and saw the director Prof Eichmann. He only spoke German but we managed to get some information out of him on veterinary problems. He showed us vaccine from Reims and said he knew Waldmann. The institute up there was said to be like a factory. The only organism they grew apart from their routine tests was some B abortus vaccine from the avirulent strain. Permission to use this vaccine was granted again in 1942 after a prohibition in 1938. The problem of abortus fever was serious. Eichmann said he was at school with Richters of the Army Vet Research school. He said the latter was interested in glanders and had described a complement fixation test for it. They had no cases in Germany but it occurred in N Africa and Russia. He showed us detailed charts of the incidence of foot and mouth disease and swinepest in all the provinces of Germany apparently emanating from Berlin in Jan 1945.

Left Bonn at 15.30 and reached Aachen at 18.00. Had another excellent meal

- 22 Mar. 7.00 Left Aachen and had a pleasant journey through the same country except that we turned off and came through Soissons and Laon instead of Rheims  
17.30 Reached Paris and after driver had had supper went out to Versailles. Saw Eckmann for a few minutes. Bill and Carl had left for Ludwigshafen that morning and Hofer was due in and was following them in the morning. Eckman suggests that we go too. See Mrosowsky in Versailles and decide that Adam should go while I return to London to try to get better orders etc. This going to and fro to Versailles is hopeless waste of time.
- 23 Mar See T force and arrange for orders for Adam to Ludwigshafen with Alsos transport and get orders for my return next morning. See Eckmann and he suggests getting orders from London attaching us temporarily to Alsos so that he can then administer orders etc for us.



DIARY OF VISIT TO GERMANY MARCH 30th - May 12th 1945.

- 29th Mar. Message from MI 10 that orders through to proceed to Paris tomorrow. To London by car and after some difficulty find the orders at Bryanston Squ. Spent night at Q.E officers club.
- 30th Mar. Leave from Croydon on BTC plane at 10.15 and arrive at Le Bouchet 11.30 after moderately rough crossing. Meet Adam and Hofer at British HQ after ringing Alsos and have lunch at Officers Club.. Adam has arrangements in hand for his return to U.K. tonight by train done through CIOs. Carl and Bill are at Frankfurt and there is a provisional plan for a general meeting at Aachen on Apr 4th when it is hoped that Adam and Ferguson will be back. Register with ETOUSA and get PX card and billet at Monceau. At 15.00 there is report into Alsos office that Heidelberg is available and Jesse and I to go down to Strasbourg to await arrival of message from Col Pash to go on to Heidelberg. Leave Adam at ~~Heidelberg office~~ Versailles after explaining how he is to get orders from Welchman attaching him to Alsos. Spent quiet evening at Monceau ready for early start next day.
- 31st Mar. 8.00 Leave Paris with Augustine and Hofer and two CIC men in separate jeep. Uneventful journey through St Dixier, Nancy, Saarebourg Lunerville and Nancy. The area is very empty of troops and army HQ have left Saarebourg recently. 17.30 Reach Alsos Hq in Strasbourg but no message from Col Pash. Comfortably housed and only Ceramte and two or three men in the place.
- 1st Apr. Easter Sunday and a fine day with many people on the streets and much ringing of church bells. Spent the day indoors with target lists and maps and go for a walk after the usual immense lunch. Return at 16.00 to find a CIC man from Col Pash to say that Alsos have several houses in the town and we are to go up next morning and that arrangements are to be made to move whole place in a few days. Spend a busy evening helping to pack the trailer and moving stores etc. The only idle hand is a physicist named Lane a nasty piece of work though supposed to be good at his job.
- 2nd Apr. 9.30 Leave Strasbourg after a delay due to difficulties with a tyre change. Go north via Wissensheim, Neustadt through the Siegfried line which shows some but not many signs of severe fighting. The villages along the road are smashed but those only a short distance off the road appear to be more or less in tact. The road was narrow with a poor surface and there was much delay with a French convoy running with us and an American coming against us. There seemed to be a complete lack of any proper road control with long blocks and cars pushing past and blocking both lanes. After Neustadt the country becomes completely flat and the Rhine valley is all intensely cultivated and looks very prosperous. The people are busy in the fields and vineyards. Landau and Frankenthal are badly damaged and then a good road into Ludwigshafen. This town is patchily damaged but did not go past the I.G. works. Crossed the river on a pontoon bridge after only a very short wait. The river is very fast flowing and some sunken vessels along the quays. Mannheim on the other side at first looks to be in good shape but going through it shows that all the main buildings are gutted and hardly a complete one seen. This destruction is on the scale of Cologne. The road to Heidelberg is good and the town is undamaged. Every big building has a Red Cross or Red square on the roof. There is one pontoon bridge in use and all the road bridges are completely demolished with just the foundations of the piers left visible. Alsos has a fine house on the hill on Philosophen Weg and there is a grand view up and down the valley. The house is built on a lavish scale with balconies and excellent furniture but all the beds have gone except one enormous bed on a dais. Learn that this was a summer resort of a director of I.G resident in Berlin and now tenanted by a brewer's chemist from Mannheim. The occupiers are being allowed a few days to remove their belongings - an unusual concession and strict instructions not to remove any souvenirs. Beds and mattresses fixed up and there is a mess with T force in the town. Col Pash and some of the military members are in another house a couple of miles up the river. There has been little fighting in the town and troops are said now to be just short of Wurzburg and finding it tough going. The French are said to have crossed the Rhine at Speyer but are believed to have got stuck already outside Karlsruhe.
- 3rd Apr. Go down in morning to T force to get pass. Meet a characteristically stupid situation when one cannot get into the building without a pass even though the object of the visit is to obtain a pass. After some difficulty get inside and then have no difficulty in getting my own pass and one for Hofer without showing any sort of identification for him. 9.30 Visit KWI for Medical research with Hofer and the place is in tact and guarded. Kuhn had been held but was now released and was out but expected back. Started talking to one of his assistants and another from the Physics section who had been working on the electron microscope. Gave us some data on Ruska and said



Augustine returned from delivering the general and they  
how they are to handle him.

Ann 7th Carl and I visited the

that he had gone to Riems to study foot and mouth disease virus. Kuhn's assistant was telling us about the work on the new antibiotic said to be better than penicillin and the oil said to be a cure for mustard burns. He was just off to try to get some samples from us when Kuhn walked in. He gave a hasty suspicious glance round the room and sent the assistant brusquely out of the room. He said that he had been interviewed the previous day by two Americans but we made it clear that we also wanted to talk to him. He then settled down and seemed quite willing to talk. He was obviously nervous and was the most shifty eyed man I had ever seen and had a nasty rat like expression. He spoke quite good English and told us about this new antibiotic which he had compared against penicillin captured from Normandy and which he assumed to be 10% pure. He showed us a pair of graphs indicating that in vitro it was better against a strain of staph albus but no different against staph aureus. He said that it had improved a case of staph septicaemia. This was peculiar case said to be staph albus and to have been going on for two years. They had also tried it against gonococci in a few chronic cases in women and instilled into the uterus. There was a small clinic with a few beds in the institute where he normally did clinical trials but this was full of officers. There is a big hospital across the road which also is affiliated to the institute. He told us about a cyclo deka pentane which was a by-product of the buna process and which was active against B coli at one in a million in vitro. It was also said to be an antidote against mustard and he said that put on up to 3 hours after the mustard it would prevent blisters. He had not done the trials and some of the pharmacology of this drug had been done by Domagk. He said that he did not have much of either of them and the Americans yesterday had taken his small supply. His other work had been in the field of nutrition and they had found that with very highly purified casein fed to rats the animals developed liver damage and that this damage could be prevented by feeding Vit E. We did not go into details about all this work as it was not our field and we assumed that others would be covering it.

Research

He asked about the Nazi influence in the Institute and he said that one of their was the leading Nazi and that he was at present under arrest. The institute is divided into two sections. One is physics and his is chemistry. It seems odd to have these divisions in an institute called one for medical research. He said that the KWI s were supported by voluntary contributions some of which came from industry etc. Kuhn knew Bickenbach well when he was in Heidelberg and B used to do clinical trials for Kuhn. He said that as far as he knew B was at a hospital in Bad Mergentheim. He said that his own son had worked with Bickenbach in Strasbourg. He said that B was interested in the mode of carriage of drugs vitamins, hormones etc in the blood stream. This friendship all suggests that Kuhn was also a good Nazi ~~he was a good Nazi~~. We saw round the chemical section which had quite nice laboratories not very old but the equipment was all locked up below. There was moderate sized animal house. We also saw the electron microscope and a fine fluorescent microphotographic apparatus used for bacterial work. They had been particularly interested in lymphgranuloma and we saw a few photographs of amorphous particles which they said were the virus. The man doing this work seemed very young and we were surprised that he should not be in the army.

Had lunch at T force which is a shocking Mess with no facilities and a low standard of hygiene surprising in the American army. Saw a W/C Mills who is with CIOS and said to be covering CW. Told him about Kuhn's oil and he was to go over to see him. While there Carl and Bill arrive from Frankfurt. They found nothing specific but got interesting data from the State serum Institute and the I.G at Hoechst. The latter is an enormous plant and quite undamaged. The director seemed to thing this was because they were I.G. ! They had arranged for the directors of these places to prepare reports on what they had been doing. After lunch the four of us visit the Hygiene Institute in Heidelberg and see round with the assistant director; the director Rodenwald was under arrest as he was an officer but he had been released and would be in the next day. The place was obviously a very ordinary institute with most work devoted to teaching and routine examinations. The only research was a little genetics and some experiments with shiga dysentery which they said they could use to produce lesions in the bladders of guinea pigs. There was quite a small lecture room and they said they had 3-500 students a year so they must have been very cramped. There was a remarkable lack of apparatus to be seen so this was presumably locked away. We went over to the Serology institute which was started as a cancer research institute and still bore this name. Sachs had been put in charge after the last war and built up the serum side until he was thrown out by the Nazis. They were only engaged in WR s as far as we could see. The director had advanced lupus and was a pitiable sight.

We then visited the medical officer of health and asked to see copies of all directives sent to him from Berlin or his senior local authority. This was to see if anything had ever been said about precautions against a possible BW attack. There was nothing about this. There was much about midwives and very recently a notice drawing attention to the value of BCG inoculation for TB and this was to be encouraged in volunteers. There had been a great increase in TB in older people. They had a little typhus locally from Polish workers but no serious epidemics



Augustine returned from delivering the general message. 4th Apr. During the morning one of the Alsos striking force had been sent up to Bad Mergentheim to try and pick up Bickenbach but he returned to say the place was not yet occupied.

Enze and I went to see Rodenwald and found him at the Institute. He has a very military bearing and is neat and smart and doesn't look his age. He speaks a moderate amount of English and most of the discussion was in English. He was formally polite but no opening of doors or bowing us out. He was ready to talk all about his own career and his work on tropical diseases in the East Indies where he had spent a number of years working for the Dutch Govt. He only returned to Germany on leave in 1934 and it was pointed out to him that he ought to stay and not return. This he did and was director of the Hygiene Institute in Kiel for a year and then came to Heidelberg. He had worked on malaria from the preventive aspects and also the study of immunity in dysentery. He believed in a mixed bacterial and anatoxin vaccine for the latter and said he had ~~found~~ statistical evidence to support his views. He was steered to the war and said he was chief consultant in Hygiene (Tropical Diseases). His work was entirely in the Balkans and Italy and he was not in N Africa. He pointed out that everyone stuck to their own field and so he did not know anything about typhus which came under the other director of Hygiene - Zeiss. This care about sticking to one's field was due to the chances of reporting and comment going back to higher quarters and apparently one didn't always know just where one was in relation to the higher authorities. Malaria had been a great problem in Greece in 1941 because they were not prepared for the campaign. Measures of control were soon established and by 1942 all was under control. Then the occupation was handed over to the Italians and in 1944 things were as bad as ever when the Germans returned. He said as an example that in Albania, the most malarious country in Europe the German army only had 600 cases of malaria. They were keen on netting and had used DDT for house spraying but not on any bigger scale. Atebrin was used as a prophylactic and here results depended entirely on the discipline of the unit. He had seen very little Lieshmaniasis and those few cases were in Crete. Here the disease is common among the population. He also described an outbreak of small pox among the troops in Greece spread from a man who caught it in Turkey. All the cases were amongst men who had been vaccinated within the last three years and there were two deaths. This caused them to revise their opinion of the efficacy of vaccination over a period of years. He knew of two small outbreaks of cholera among the Russian population on the Eastern front but the spread was rapidly controlled by vaccination. He said that trench nephritis was common and though many believed that it was an infection he believed that it was related to metabolic disturbances due to wet and cold.

He said that Eric Martini in Italy was his subordinate and he himself had visited Italy on occasions. Asked about the deliberate flooding of the Pontine marshes and the breaking of the pumps etc he said that he had told the military what would be the result of this destruction but the decision to do it was taken by a general whom he would not name. His comment was that anyway they could be rebuilt in two years. He was obviously no lover of his ex-allies and typically German in his attitude to the sufferings of other people.

He was then asked about chemical warfare and said he knew nothing about it. He said he knew Wirth was working in the Military Medical Academy but he did not know on what subject. At another point he had mentioned Flury of Wurzburg but again did not say on what he was working. He did say that Wirth was head of the section of Toxicology of the Military Medical Academy but added that this was no secret. He said that he knew Kliewe as head of the Diagnostic Lab in Giessen and that he was now in Berlin but he did not know what he was doing. He said that Kliewe was interested in disinfection and pointed to his book on the shelf. Rodenwald said he had been in Berlin less than 3 weeks ago and described it as a dead city. Asked about BW he said that in his opinion it was of no scientific value and gave as his reason its uncontrollable effects and named the spread of dysentery in Gallipoli in the last war. Brought over by the Australians it rapidly spread and affected the German and Turkish troops. He said that it had been discussed but he did not know by whom and said that no work had been done on it by the Germans. He had heard that the Russians had a fully equipped laboratory on the shores of Lake Baikal in Siberia. He had never heard any suggestion that they had used it, nor did he know on what they were supposed to have been working. He said in reply to a leading question that naturally he would have been consulted had the question ever been contemplated or expected from the enemy. He gave us the impression that he would never tell us anything that he considered a military secret as exemplified by his professed ignorance of Wirth's work about which he almost certainly knew the subject.

After lunch went to Darmstadt and saw round Mercks. The factory was moderately damaged and nothing was going on. There were a few men in the chemistry labs and they said the biology labs had been destroyed and transferred to the chemistry side. The firm had not been engaged on Kriegs production but only on Wehr production so had not had great priority and had lost a large number of its skilled workers. Their main work had been the production of vitamins and some of their other well known drugs such as doryl and its derivatives.



how they are to handle him.

They did very little bacteriological work. A few grams of eupapaverine was obtained. <sup>their new synthetic</sup>

After dinner we all had a long discussion about the possible value of Rodenwald as a source of information on BW. It was unanimously agreed that he probably knew more than he told us and he was obviously very security conscious. It was decided to recommend his seizure as a PW and to give him a further interrogation by Bill and Jesse whom he had not seen before sending him to a special interrogation centre.

5th Apr. 9.00 Carl and I set off for Frankfurt to collect the reports from the Serum institute and I.G. at Hoechst. We went almost the whole way on undamaged autobahn right to the edge of Frankfurt. The surface was untouched and only one partial obstruction due to a blown over bridge. The road was dull and went through woods most of the way. They are wonderful roads with no crossings and elaborate entrances and exits at infrequent intervals. Frankfurt was badly damaged and we went to the State serum institute in the east of the river. This was only slightly damaged and still guarded by T force. The acting director was held in his room and had been preparing his report. His name was Albrecht and he spoke no English. He had prepared a most detailed account of all the sera that had passed through their hands during the war years and in answer to questions told us where all these things were made. The principle is that all sera made by private firms must be tested by the state serum institute before being sold to the public. There is an elaborate system whereby their inspectors visit the firms on request and take a sample from a big batch and then look up the remainder and keep the keys. The sample is taken back to Frankfurt and there assayed. This of course only applies to products which are capable of biological assay. Most of the sera in which we were interested, anthrax plague etc does not come to them. But they know where everything is produced. Thus all anthrax serum comes from Marburg, Plague from Hamburg and Vienna and one other laboratory. Glanders is only made at the Army Veterinary research institute in Berlin under Richters. For rabies there are three state institutes in Germany. The striking thing about the data was the low production of tetanus toxoid and the rise in diphtheria anti-toxin during the war.

Had lunch at T force mess where we met Rosenberg and a small party from Aachen who were down for the day. Henze got into trouble with T force because of the brief reports on targets that they had submitted. These had to be re-written on the spot and give more data on the state of the buildings and personalities etc.

After lunch visited the I.G works at Hoechst which is a vast place without a broken window pane. The director of the whole works is a man named Laugenschlaeger who is also director of all research and is a chemist and a doctor. He is an elderly man who was polite and took us into his board room which was a very impressive place though dark and cold. He had a scheme of all research done and the names of those doing it. All branches of biological work were being investigated and they had got a pilot plant for penicillin. We did not go round as Carl had already seen the place and it was very large. They did a little work on bacterial antigens and all organisms were surface grown. They were interested in the acridine-sulphonamide compounds. I tried unsuccessfully to get a sample of pure marfanil but they only had the usual 10% mixture with sulphonamide.

On returning through heavy rain we found that Rodenwald had not yet been picked up but steps were in hand for this to happen tomorrow.

Alsos has taken over a little restaurant just up the road which will be a welcome change from the mess down town. It is difficult to get over the bridge and the mess is filthy and the serving disgustingly unhygienic. The restaurant has its German proprietor and his wife and an assistant who are willing to work for their food.

6th Apr. Began to write report on Heidelberg and this diary.

Rodenwald was apprehended and his house taken over for Alsos as future offices. In the afternoon he was brought in and questioned by Bill and Jesse. He repeated what he had told us and said that he only remembers informal talks on BW round the dinner table in Berlin. He said the report about the Russians was just a bit of general talk and he could not recall the source. When told that perhaps the Russians might be interested to hear his story his attitude suddenly changed and his stiff formality dropped as he protested that if he had known anything about BW he would be glad to tell it. He was sent to a special forward interrogation centre to be held there until it was thought that all possible information had been extracted from him.

In the afternoon walked through the town and up to the castle. The streets were filled with civilians who appear quite indifferent with a certain passive sullenness. The shops are all shut and there is little to see in their windows. In contrast to Paris there is a complete absence of the junkety trinket shops full of sham jewellery. The people looked pale and ill-clothed except for a few well dressed women. Crossing the bridge met Adamson who is interviewing Kuhn. He seems to think he is all right and apparently was over with him in 1939.



Augustine returned from delivering the general and they  
how they are to handle him.

Apr 7th Carl and I visited the PW centre situated in a lovely house on the hill at the edge of the Rhine valley just before Darmstadt. This whole run from Heidelberg is through almost undamaged country and villages and is a mass of little fields and orchards with women hard at work in them. They extend well up the steep sides of the hills. At the centre we saw the interrogation officers who were apparently very busy and said that all field officers and above have to go through these centres. We told them what we could about the general and how he might be approached. They were going to try soft tactics first and also monitor him if there seemed to be any clue that he knew more than he had told we might reinterrogate him. We were not impressed by the mental calibre of these men and they were hardly suitable for trying to get scientific information from anyone. Bill and Jesse went off to Frankfurt to the Hygiene institute to get the report from there. They were told that this had been removed by an American colonel who said it was his affair. They also visited the Kalle works at Wiesbaden. These were about half destroyed. They asked about their tanks at Cologne and said they had been hoping for them. They were to be used for growing mesenteric in order to produce and enzyme 'Biolase' used in some cellulose manufacturing process. The point about these new tanks were that they were made to rock unlike to old ones.

Further plans were discussed and Carl and Bill decided to go back to Paris to write up reports and get a change of clothes etc. Also there had been a note from Eckmann that Carl was to be withdrawn for service with the surgeon general's office and it was necessary to clear this up. Jesse and I were to go to Wurzburg. At present we have no orders to any army groups owing to the usual efficiency of the central office. Two letters arrived from Ruth via road from Paris. Gave one to Bill to post in Paris.

8th Apr. Jesse and I set off with a CIC driver in a jeep. This man is quite useless except as a driver and speaks no German and generally seems a bit more dumb than the average CIC man. We had a letter from Pash as our only introduction to T Force. There was little data about the route and it seemed to be the opinion that the direct route was not clear. As a result we went via Darmstadt to Aschaffenburg. Both these towns, especially the latter, are extensively damaged though the roads are in quite good condition. We went on to Lohr and there we went three times round the town trying to follow directions to the MP control point. They were all new and had no information about the route. We were then given directions which included crossing the river a few miles out of town on a ferry and then the road was said to be clear. The main road was still blocked by fighting. We got to the ferry and the sergeant in charge said he would take us across but could not guarantee to bring us back as he was packing up at any moment. He said that he had been ferrying across tanks all the previous afternoon to clear out a pocket. He had not seen them again so he assumed all was well. He said there had been a little traffic across and as far as he knew the road was clear. We hesitated especially as the road across the river quickly went into woods and was only a very 3rd class one in any case. It was a bright sunny morning and we decided to risk it and went across. The villagers in the hamlet on the other side looked very curiously at us and we set off. We were soon in the woods and also on the wrong road as we had failed to recognise ours which was in fact little more than a track. It then deteriorated even more to a mere cart track running through the fields. Then we came to a small bridge over a narrow but deep little gorge. The bridge was gone. We were almost turning back when we saw another bridge across the field and made our way over that. The road was by now a wet muddy track with many ruts etc running on the river edge. There were many barges tied up alongside and their crews came out to have a look. There had been few if any ~~cars~~ vehicles over here before. We went through two villages where again we were the objects of great curiosity and then finally hit the main road just the other side of the blown bridge. Here we were very glad to see a few American troops. The rest of the way to Wurzburg was over good road and we got in just after two. We were directed to T force lodged in a brewery and got a pass and were given an interpreter as they did not seem to be very busy. We were given a space on the floor for our beds in the director's house which was very crowded and in a frightful mess. With our sergeant interpreter we went off to the Hygiene institute which was in the grounds of a big hospital with all the other medical institutes. The place had been badly knocked about and there were a number of large bomb craters in the roads. The institute was without a roof and most of its top storey but the rest was in fact but it had not been used since the raid on Mar 16th. A nun followed us in and told us where the director lived a few miles out of town. There was little to see and all documents had been removed and there was no interesting apparatus to be seen.



Prof Knorr was found living in a farm in a small village a few miles from Wurzburg. While waiting for his return talked a little with the farmer's wife who asked for war news and said she hoped it would soon be over. On being told that it would be if Hitler would only surrender she said 'Isn't that swine dead yet?' This is part of the pose of many of these people though it is possible that, as elsewhere, the peasants are not very interested in wars. She offered us a drink of cognac which we refused with explanations of the rules of non-fraternisation at which she seemed considerably surprised.

Knorr returned and we talked to him for about 30 minutes in the farm yard. He was very friendly, in fact almost unpleasantly so. He was asked the usual questions, and said that in his view BW was impossible etc and that he did vaguely remember its being mentioned once in Berlin. He said that he had joined the party some years ago, and ~~then~~ a few years before the war he joined the Army in an effort to recover some of his freedom. We did not discuss this as we wanted information. His military duties did not interfere with his work at Wurzburg until the war started. He then became consultant in Hygiene to the Luftwaffe in the West. He continued to do his work in the university which was the direction of the Hygiene institute and the diagnostic lab. and also the editing of the Arch f Hygien. His own research had been on anti-louse agents for which he had bred lice at Wurzburg but had not worked on typhus. Before the war he was interested in experimental epidemiology on the lines of Topley's experiments. He was also ~~interest~~ interested in water hygiene. He said that his chief in the Luftwaffe was Rose. This man, like Zeiss in the army, was a nobody in science. He said they had heard the Russians might use BW but of course the German army would never stoop to the use of such methods, nor did they think would the English or Americans. He knew of Kliewe and his interest in disinfection. He described him as ~~third rate~~ third rate but did not know on what he was working now. He said the Nazis might have a secret organisation working on the problem and, if so, it would be in the hands of the SS, and directed by a third rate bacteriologist. Asked about his experiences in the Luftwaffe he said that in 1942 he was flown down to St Omer to tackle an outbreak of typhus that had started among troops from Russia. Though there were a number of cases the mortality was only 5%. There had been a good deal of epidemic hepatitis, especially among the crews of AA guns, and he attributed this to the poor sanitary conditions under which these men lived. He gave us some more information, but nothing to add to what we already knew. Before we left, he said that his lab was working in a few rooms in this village and we said that we would draw the attention of the military govt to his position. It is certainly remarkable how these men manage to set up a lab under the most primitive conditions.

We motored through the old city of Wurzburg. This is in the form of a semicircle on the east bank of the Main and the more modern suburbs radiate from it. There were the cathedral and old palaces and the city buildings all together with some park space and then the old houses and shop buildings. The whole area was a complete ruin and the only building still standing was the Nazi party block at one edge.

All this destruction apparently occurred in a single raid lasting 25 minutes on March 16-17 1945 and the damage had been increased by severe street fighting in the city. The old citadel stands on the hill on the west bank of the river overlooking the town. It had a vast Heil Hitler sign on the walls on Sunday but on Monday this had disappeared. The walls of some of the buildings in the city had 'Think of your revenge' plastered over them. The city was quiet that night though there had been a good deal of firing up till then we were told, and the fighting in front of Schweinfurt was said to be very stiff. After getting the address of Flury from the M.G. and being told that he had expressed a wish to see the Allied CW experts we spent a reasonable night in the house of the director of the brewery. The beer was very poor.



2-8

Boris Pash

~~General~~

Also Mission  
General  
History